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ABSTRACT

This document, the second part of the third volume of a study concerned with the role of institutions of higher education in the development of countries in South-East Asia, discusses the problems aroused by language in the region. Chapters I-IV cover assumptions of the study, common problems of the region, current solutions, and future outlook. Chapters V-XII study the policy, the instruments of policy, ethnic groups and media instruction, language courses and their objectives, language-teaching resources, effects on non-language courses, and the effects on higher education in Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Viet-Nam, and the Thailand. Related documents are HE 004 673, HE 004 650, and HE 004 651. (MJM)

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the development of higher education

higher education and development in south-east asia

volume III, part 2

language policy

by Richard Noss

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6

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Volume III Part 2

Language policy and higher education

by Richard Noss

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and the International Association of Universities

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Preface

The Study of the Role of Institutions of Higher Education in the development of Countries in South-East Asia is the second project to be carried out under the Joint Unesco-International Association of Universities Research Programme in Higher Education. This programme, which constitutes a novel form of co-operation between an intergovernmental organization and an international academic body, was brought into being at the end of 1959. Directed by a Joint Steering Committee, its purpose is to carry out under the auspices of the two organizations, with the financial support of private foundations or such other private or public bodies as may be appropriate, a series of studies of important problems affecting the organization, operation and functions of institutions of higher education in the present world.

This study was set up with the co-operation and support of the Ford Foundation which generously authorized grants in the amount of $534,000 for its conduct. Work began in September 1961 and from then until April 1965 extensive inquiries were made into the actual and potential contribution of higher education in the countries of South-East Asia to the achievement of the goals of social and cultural development as well as its role in providing the knowledge and skills needed for their economic progress. The *Director's Report* of the study was published in 1966, and a series of detailed *Country Profiles* in 1967. The present report by Mr. Richard Noss forms the second part of a third volume, the first being a report by Mr. Guy Hunter entitled *High-Level Manpower for Development*.

The Joint Steering Committee is indebted to all those who helped to carry out this important undertaking and most specially to the chairman of its Commission of Experts, Sir John Lockwood, Master of Birkbeck College in the University of London and former Vice-Chancellor of the University, who died suddenly on 11 July 1965. Despite other heavy commitments in the United Kingdom and Africa, he had for four years contributed selflessly to the study, travelling extensively in the region, and bringing to the planning and evaluation of the inquiries which were carried out the stimulus of the keen mind of a distinguished scholar and gifted administrator. On behalf of all who were associated with the study we here pay tribute to Sir John for his devotion to the cause of higher education and for the warm generosity of his companionship.

The Committee's thanks are also due to the members of the International Commission of Experts, individually and collectively, for the advice and guidance they gave throughout the study as well as to the consultants, Messrs. Guy Hunter and Richard Noss, for the specialized knowledge and experience they brought to bear on important parts of the undertaking.

The main burden of the work was inevitably borne by the directors of the study and its small staff in Kuala Lumpur, and the Committee is grateful to them for their devotion to a difficult and onerous task. Three directors each made a distinctive contribution to its accomplishment: Dr. Matta Akrawi served from September 1961 to December 1962 and was responsible, with Sir John Lockwood, for the initiation of the study and the successful conclusion of its first phase; Dr. R. M. Sundrum brought to the work the special skills of a political economist and statistician until March 1964; from then on the work went forward under the direction of Mr. Howard Hayden—a comparative educationist, he was responsible for making a synthetic analysis of the complex body of material assembled by the study.

Finally, the Committee wishes to express its appreciation to the Government of Malaysia and to the University of Malaya for the special facilities afforded to the study in Kuala Lumpur and to thank them as well as the governments and university institutions of the other South-East Asian countries associated with the study for their co-operation and assistance.

CONSTANTINE K. ZURAYK,
President, IAU

RENÉ MAHEU,
Director-General, Unesco

Co-Chairmen, Unesco-IAU Joint Steering Committee

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Foreword

In 1959 the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the International Association of Universities (IAU) formed a Joint Steering Committee, with the Director-General of Unesco and the President of IAU as co-chairmen, to plan and implement a concerted programme of research into higher education.

Two years later, with the financial collaboration of the Ford Foundation, the second research project, 'A Study of the Role of Institutions of Higher Education in the Development of Countries in South-East Asia' was initiated.

An office to house the director of the study, the assistant director and a small clerical staff was established through the generosity of Sir Alexander Oppenheim, then vice-chancellor, at the new University of Malaya, in Kuala Lumpur, and it was decided to support the work of the Research Office by means of studies in depth to be provided by consultants. Eventually two such studies were completed, one by Mr. Guy Hunter on 'High-level Manpower for Development' and the present report on 'Language Policy and Higher Education in South-East Asia'.

The problems aroused by language in the region, like those of manpower, have to be seen in a broader perspective: they have to be set against a background of social and political factors such as, for example, the creation of a national image, the cultural values of new nationhood and the social problems of multiracial societies. As the study was being planned, it became abundantly clear that the quality and extent of the output of higher education geared though it might be to economic productivity, would nevertheless be largely conditioned by a number of social factors of which not the least were the questions of the language of instruction; the capacity of both students and the upper echelons of the employed population to understand, and possibly employ, a world language; and the provision and training of the teachers necessary to make this possible. Accordingly, in August 1964, Dr. Richard

B. Noss, scientific linguist with the School of Languages and Area Studies of the Foreign Service Institute of the Department of State, Washington, D.C., was appointed as consultant to advise on the language problems relevant to the study. At the close of the year, Dr. Noss spent three months in the region, with which he was already familiar, carrying out detailed investigations of the present language situation in schools, in universities and in government policies. His final report was completed in February 1965, and of course predated the separation of Singapore from the Federation of Malaysia.

As with the manpower study, this report not only stands in its own right as an intensive survey of and commentary upon language usage and teaching in the region; it also furnishes a valuable background to many of the sociological aspects of the Director's Report.

A résumé of the report made in Kuala Lumpur, for the accuracy of which Dr. Noss bears no responsibility, is included as Chapter 7 of the Director's Report (Volume I of the study) where it concludes a review of the sociology of educational development based upon such elements as universal demand for education, social mobility and the social aspects of national progress, the changing status of women, the educational needs of a rural society, the development and projection of a national image and the significance of the cultural heritage of the newly emergent nations. An even more condensed version may be found in pages 43-9 of the *Summary Report and Conclusions* of the study published by Unesco in August 1965.

The Prime Minister of Malaysia, Tengku Abdul Rahman, has said: 'It is only right that as a developing nation we should want to have a language of our own . . . if the national language is not introduced our country will be devoid of a unified character and personality—as I could put it, a nation without a soul and without a life.' Thus, since the adoption and development of a national language is an essential feature of a national image, the report is appropriately placed in this social context. At the same time it offers a valuable postscript to the brief description of the education systems of the region to be found in Chapter 2 of the Director's Report and foreshadows some of the problems raised in Chapter 11 dealing with the internal difficulties of higher education in respect of the provision of teachers, methods of teaching and the tools of research.

The wide range of the difficulties caused by language problems throughout the region, and also, in some areas, the intensity of the feelings to which they can give rise should not be underestimated. Here is certainly a field where the impartial survey of present policies and their implications, the examination of the teaching problems of the various solutions to language questions set out in the report should be of great significance and assistance to planners, administrators, teachers and specialists in the fields of language and of linguistics.

HOWARD HAYDEN,
Director of the Study of the Role
of Institutions of Higher
Education in the Development
of Countries in South-East Asia

Introduction

The field investigation for this report was conducted from 18 September to 18 December 1964, through the facilities of the Joint Unesco-IAU Research Office on Higher Education in Kuala Lumpur and with the valued co-operation of its director, Mr. Howard Hayden. In five of the eight countries covered by the report it was possible to make fairly extensive local investigations: Malaysia and Thailand (three weeks in each), Cambodia, Republic of Viet-Nam[1] and the Philippines (one week in each).

For largely technical reasons, it proved impossible to visit either Indonesia or Burma; in the latter case, a visa for more than 24 hours was unobtainable. Laos, the only country at present lacking higher educational facilities, was deliberately left out of the itinerary. Much of the work on Indonesia and Burma was done in the Research Office at Kuala Lumpur with the assistance of two staff members who formerly resided in those countries: Mrs. Ruth Daroesman (Indonesia) and Mrs. Amy Griffiths (Burma). Material on Laos was mainly gathered in Thailand, but also collected from Cambodia and the Republic of Viet-Nam.

The remaining four weeks in South-East Asia were spent on travel, studies of regional and general subjects, and preliminary drafting of some chapters. In addition to the Research Office's collection on educational demographic and manpower materials, the library of the Unesco Regional Office for Education in Bangkok provided valuable sources of information on matters pertinent to this report.

In all five countries visited, interviews were freely given by Ministry of Education and university officials. Arrangements for the interviews were made, and sometimes actual transportation to them provided, by local Unesco representatives or, in a few cases, by the ministries and universities themselves. Outside the public education field, persons interviewed included recognized language experts of the country concerned, directors and professors of private institutions, representatives of international and foreign assistance groups and private foundations, and publishers of textbooks, both commercial and government-subsidized. In no country visited was there any lack of co-operation on the part of either the official or non-official community, once the aims of the study were explained.

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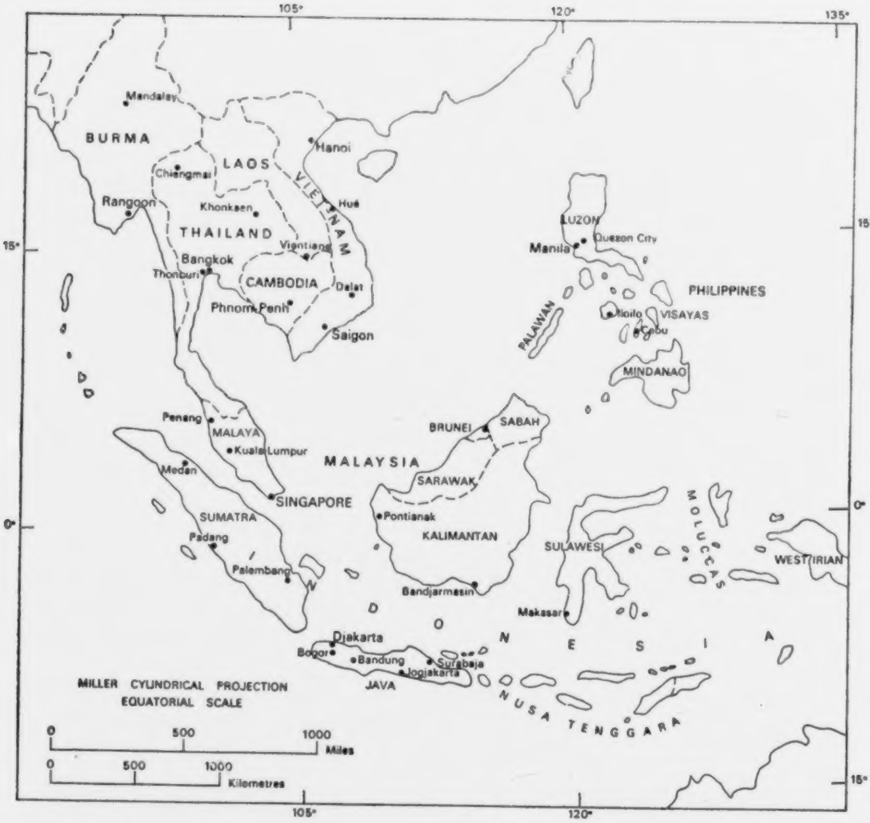
[1] In the body of this publication, 'South Viet-Nam' should be understood to designate the Republic of Viet-Nam, and 'North Viet-Nam' to designate the People's Republic of Viet-Nam.

RICHARD B. NOSS,
Washington, D.C.
22 February 1965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Thonburi
CAMBODIA
Dalat
Phnom Penh
Saigon
LUZON
Quezon City
Manila
PHILIPPINES
PALAWAN
Iloilo
VISAYAS
Cebu
MINDANAO
Penang
MALAYA
Kuala Lumpur
MALAYSIA
BRUNEI
SABAH
SARAWAK
Medan
SINGAPORE
Pontianak
KALIMANTAN
SUMATRA
Padang
Palembang
SULAWESI
MOLUCCAS
WEST IRIAN
Bandjarmasin
Makasar
I N D O N E S I A
Djakarta
Bogor
Bandung
Surabaja
Jogjakarta
JAVA
NUSA TENGGARA
MILLER CYLINDRICAL PROJECTION
EQUATORIAL SCALE
0
500
1000
Miles
0
500
1000
Kilometres

The above diagrammatic map depicts the region covered by the study. The boundaries shown are not, in some instances, finally determined and their reproduction does not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

I. Assumptions of the study

A. ACCEPTANCE OF NATIONAL-LANGUAGE POLICIES AS FIXED DATA

The first and most crucial assumption of this report is that the policy of each country in regard to language in general, and in its relation to higher education in particular, is a stable factor in the total situation. This is meant to apply not only to those national-language policies which are clearly stated in so many words (like that of Malaysia—see Chapter IX, Section A), but also to those only vaguely conceived or codified informally in no single statement (like that of Thailand, Chapter XII).

This assumption does not imply that national-language policies are rigid and immune to change. Quite recently, in fact, important changes in policy affecting languages have been observed in countries as far apart as Burma (Chapter V) and the Republic of Viet-Nam (Chapter XI). Other significant changes may indeed be made before the publication of this report. The assumption of stability is made simply to facilitate a projection from the data collected. Since it so happens that the eight countries of the study provide an interesting spectrum of current policies, all of which seek to solve what are essentially only two major language problems (see below and Chapter II), the projections (such as those in Chapter IV, especially Section B.2) vary drastically, although the data themselves contain more similarities than variations.

The assumption of stability of national-language policies, moreover, does not imply approval or disapproval of any specific policy. It is meaningless for the expert to say, in this or any other field, that 'the policies of Country X are all wrong and will lead to chaos' until he knows what the long-range aspirations and goals of Country X really are. What the experts can do, and what this report will attempt to do, is to show what kind of specific results Country X can expect from rigorous application of its policy to the kinds of problems that actually exist.

The main problems confronting nearly all the eight countries, from the point of view of this study, are (a) the propagation of the national language within the country, and (b) the role of languages of wider currency. Both directly affect, in turn, the language preparation of university students.

B. THE NATURE OF LANGUAGE: SOME TERMS

Certain assumptions have been made here about the nature of language itself. Since these are not necessarily the same as those made by ministries of education, cultural guardians and development planners, they will require formulation.

1. By language we mean the system of audible vocal symbols by which members of the same speech community interact—in short, spoken language. By this definition Mandarin and Hokkien are languages, 'Chinese' is not (it is a group of related languages).

2. Nearly all known languages, and certainly all of those mentioned in this report, have dialects. A dialect is simply one of a number of distinguishable varieties of the same language; speakers of different dialects must understand one another, otherwise they would be speaking different languages (and failing to interact). There is nothing morally or logically superior about one dialect, or inferior about another. 'Bazaar Malay' is a dialect (of the Malay language), but so is spoken Indonesian.

3. By standard dialect we mean any dialect of a language which has either been designated by government authority to serve official purposes (e.g., Indonesian), or chosen by popular consent as a preferred mode of communication for certain situations (e.g., 'bazaar Malay'). Most of the languages of South-East Asia have at least one standard dialect, some have more. For example, both the northern and southern dialects of Vietnamese are standard in the popular sense. In Laos, the speech of Vientiane and that of Luang Prabang enjoy almost equal prestige; there are other standard dialects of the same language (which we shall call Thai Lao) in Thailand, e.g., the dialects of Bangkok and Chiengmai.

4. By writing system we mean the system of visible symbols used by convention to represent any dialect or group of dialects, any language or group of languages. It follows that writing systems do not exist without a spoken-language basis of some kind, although the reverse situation (language without writing system) often does pertain, e.g., for many of the minority tribal languages of South-East Asia.

Four kinds of writing systems are frequently found in South-East Asia: Indic types (Tamil, Hindi, Burmese, Thai, Lao, Mon, Khmer, Shan, etc.); Roman type (Indonesian, Malay, Vietnamese, Tagalog, Visayan, Khmu, etc.); Arabic type (Urdu, Jawi, certain ancient and modern Malay and Indonesian scripts); Chinese character type (all Chinese languages; ancient Vietnamese). It can readily be seen from this list that the choice of writing system has nothing whatever to do with the relationship of the languages themselves, but is mostly an accident of history. For example, Vietnamese, English, Indonesian and Turkish all use the same basic writing system, but none of the languages are related. On the other hand, dialects of the same language may use widely different writing systems, e.g., Hindi and Urdu (Indic type and Arabic type, respectively).

This is not to minimize the importance of writing systems as vehicles of communication, however. It is precisely because the same writing system was used for a group of related languages that literate Chinese of different backgrounds can communicate today (or perhaps even that the term 'Chinese', as a language designation, exists at all).

5. We speak of a written language whenever a group of related dialects (i.e., belonging to the same spoken language) are written with identical writing systems. Thus, since some of the Thai/Lao dialects are represented by an Indic-type writing system called Thai, and others by a different Indic-type system called Lao, written Thai and written Lao are separate written languages. But Indonesian/Malay constitutes a single written language, like Vietnamese or Burmese.

6. A standard language, finally, is any standard dialect for which the written language has official sanction within the country where it is used. By this definition, what are commonly called 'Burmese', 'Thai', 'Lao', 'Indonesian', 'Malay', 'Khmer', 'Vietnamese' and 'Tagalog' all qualify as standard languages. Such entities as 'bazaar Malay', 'Karen', 'Visayan' and 'Chinese' (unless it means 'Mandarin') do not qualify.

7. A national language, in one sense, then, is any standard language which has primary governmental sanction within a given country. Where two standard languages have such sanction (e.g., Malay and English in Malaysia, Khmer and French in Cambodia), the term 'the national language' is restricted to the more indigenous language (Malay, Khmer). In the Philippines, although Visayan claims more speakers than Tagalog, it lacks the official sanction of the latter and hence does not qualify as the national language.

8. A vernacular language (or a vernacular) is any indigenous language other than the national language. (Note that this definition is at considerable variance with general usage of the term 'vernacular'.) Thus Visayan, Karen and Hokkien are vernaculars.

9. A world language, finally, is any standard language widely used for communication outside the region where it occurs as a national language. French, English and Mandarin Chinese are the only world languages of importance in South-East Asia.

To sum up, let us combine some previous definitions into a single definition: the national language of Country X is the indigenous standard dialect for which the written language has primary official sanction of the X Government, and the term applies to both spoken and written versions of the dialect in question.

Using this definition, we find that the national languages of the countries covered in the present survey are as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1. National languages by country

Country	National language	Affiliation of spoken language	Affiliation of written language
Burma	Burmese	Tibeto-Burman (Sino-Tibetan)	Indic
Cambodia	Khmer (Cambodian)	Mon-Khmer	Indic
Indonesia	Indonesian	Malayo-Polynesian	Roman
Laos	Lao (Laotian)	Tai (Sino-Thai)	Indic
Malaysia	Malay	Malayo-Polynesian	Roman
Philippines	Tagalog (Pilipino)	Malayo-Polynesian	Roman
Thailand	Thai (Siamese)	Tai (Sino-Thai)	Indic
Viet-Nam	Vietnamese	Mon-Khmer, Austroasiatic, or unknown	Roman

C. STRUCTURE, VOCABULARY AND LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

A third type of assumption made in this paper is one which underlies the work of nearly all modern scholars working in the field of linguistics, no matter what their country of origin or their particular theoretical leanings. Common though this assumption is, it seems advisable to set it forth here.

It is assumed that one can make a clear distinction between two phases of language substance—one called variously 'structure,' 'grammar,' 'operational system,' etc., and the other called 'vocabulary,' 'lexicon,' 'semantic system,' etc. To put it more simply, there are words (vocabulary) and there are rules for internal construction and combination of words (structure).

More specifically, by language structure we mean such things as the sound system of a dialect or language (see above, Section B, paragraphs 1 and 2), the systems of compounding, derivation and repetition by which vocabulary items are formed, and the syntatic processes (word order, intonation, crossreference devices, etc.) by which phrases, clauses and sentences are formed out of vocabulary items. By the same token it is also possible to speak of the structure of a written language and deal in terms of letters, 'endings', spaces, tone- and punctuation-marks, and these features sometimes will be found to correspond to features of the structure of the spoken language quite closely.

By vocabulary we mean the words, set phrases, idioms, technical expressions, etc., of the spoken language which have specific meanings attached to them regardless of their surroundings. On the written side, these are the items one would expect to find listed separately in the main body of a good dictionary, regardless of their length or complexity. One would not expect to find in a dictionary all the facts about structure, however—in fact, one seldom finds them all in even the best grammars.

In the structural sense all the languages of the world are equally well 'developed'—that is, they possess all the necessary machinery for expressing complex relationships among words, and the necessary material for distinguishing words. If they did not, the users of each language would long ago have ceased effective interaction. The adequacy of structure has to be assumed for small tribal vernaculars with no writing system just as readily as for 'sophisticated' languages like English, French, Mandarin Chinese and Russian, with their long literary traditions and cumbersome graphic representations.

What do people mean, then, when they speak of 'language development' or 'improving the national language'? In our terms, they mean only one thing: increasing the vocabulary (usually, the written vocabulary more than the spoken). It is impossible, of course, to 'improve' the structure of a language. Structures change, but they do not improve.

The goal of language developers is, apparently, to have nothing less than a discrete, unambiguous word for every possible concept in the universe, preferably constructed out of native vocabulary material. If this is so, they have set themselves an unending and self-defeating task, because were they successful no one, including themselves, could possibly master such a vocabulary. It would remain forever stored in countless pages of unread manuscripts.

There is an understandable reluctance to borrow vocabulary items from other languages, just as there is a reluctance to import ideas from other cultures. Unfortunately, it is always necessary to do so. If a speaker of English, for example, wishes to refer often to the kind of tool used to scrape coconuts in the making of certain types of curry, it does not embarrass him to adopt a word from one of the languages of Asia. It never occurs to him to appeal to the Royal Academy for an Anglo-Saxon equivalent of the word. Nor does it occur to him that he has laid himself open to the charge of speaking an impoverished language, incapable of expressing subtleties except by devious circumlocution. Further, he does not feel obliged to learn to speak the entire language from which he borrowed the tool-word, in order to express himself. Rather, he finds that the borrowed word, with a few phonetic adjustments, fits nicely into an English sentence—almost any English sentence.

Thus a clear-cut distinction between language structure and vocabulary is essential to any meaningful discussion of questions of language planning or 'development', such as we will encounter in the present study.

D. LANGUAGE AS A DUAL VEHICLE

Part and parcel of the structure/vocabulary distinction is the dual nature of language as a vehicle of communication. A moment's reflection on such popular statements as 'Language is a vehicle for the expression of thought' or 'Language is a vehicle of culture' shows them to be, if not meaningless, at least paradoxical, because in one sense language is thought; language is culture. It is, so far as we know, impossible to have any of these concepts without the others. One might just as well say 'Water is the vehicle for the expression of rain' (or vice versa) and let it pass for wisdom.

A statement similar to 'Language is a vehicle for the expression of thought (culture)' in terms of our assumptions might be 'Structure is the vehicle for the expression of vocabulary', which is also a reversible proposition, and leads to the further paradox that both structure and vocabulary are meaningful. 'Dog bites man' and 'Man bites dog' are not the same thing.

There is no denying, however, that language is a vehicle for something, because it is possible to paraphrase within a language and translate from one language to another, and even to get some agreement on the accuracy of the results. It is equally clear that whatever is conveyed by languages must have the same dual nature as language itself: structure and vocabulary.

Let us assume, further, that the structure of a given language is a self-consistent finite whole, whereas the vocabulary is infinitely expandable, and we can then proceed to make sensible statements (two, not one) about language as a vehicle.

1. Language structure is a vehicle for the expression of a culturally predetermined finite organization of rational and classificatory processes. Example: Mr. X speaks seven languages fluently, but prefers to do arithmetic in his native language whenever possible. Second example: Speakers of different Chinese languages can more or less read each other's written language, not simply because the system of Chinese characters conveys vocabulary meanings, but also because Chinese languages are similar in structure. The proof of this is that highly literate Japanese, with extensive knowledge of the character system, cannot read Chinese accurately without special knowledge of Chinese structure (and vice versa). Even such crucial things as negative constructions may be missed by readers without this special knowledge.

2. Language vocabulary is a vehicle for a culturally predetermined but infinitely expandable system of nomenclature for objects, events and circum-

stances. Example: If a speaker begins a story by saying 'Some *orang*s were *makan*ing in the *pasar*', we are forced to the conclusion that he is using English structure, although we may recognize his vocabulary as heavily Indonesian/Malay in character. A person with no knowledge of any language except English would still be able to paraphrase the sentence as follows: 'Some somethings were doing something in the something'. He would be vague, but not erroneous. A person with no knowledge of any language but Indonesian/Malay might paraphrase more specifically, but almost certainly erroneously; he might even fail to identify any of his 'own' words as conveyed through English sounds (structure).

In the event that *orang* (man), *makan* (eat), and *pasar* (certain kind of market) became accepted as English vocabulary items, the whole sentence would be understandable to an English speaker. On the other hand, it is inconceivable that all of the structural items like 'some . . .s', 'were . . .ing' and 'in the . . .', the total phrasing and the intonation should be accepted as Indonesian/Malay structure.

What we normally speak of as 'culture' is conveyed largely by vocabulary, and what we call 'logic' largely by structure. In terms of this study, it follows that university courses with a high cultural content, such as Western literature, world history and social studies, require extensive vocabulary emphasis, no matter what language they are taught in. Courses with a high rational process content, such as mathematics and the natural sciences, call for more restricted but intensive vocabulary emphasis. But both types of courses require complete and unhesitating control of the structure of the language used as the medium of instruction, whether this be a local or a foreign language.

E. LANGUAGE-LEARNING PROCESSES

It is also necessary to assume that in order for an individual to learn a new language, whether that individual is an infant learning his first language or an adult learning his fourteenth, three elements must be present in a positive degree: aptitude, motivation and opportunity.

1. Language-learning aptitude is a measurable skill of the individual at a given stage in his lifetime. It may increase or remain constant during the early years, and it is known to decline fairly consistently in later years. What is certain is that every human being is born with a positive degree of this ability; cases in which an otherwise normal individual has failed to learn even a first language are certainly due to lack of one or both of the other factors, motivation and opportunity. It is certain that different people have markedly different degrees of language aptitude. Correlations with intelligence quotients (IQ) have not been clearly established as yet, although there may be some connexion. In any case, it is still true that individuals with low IQs may have relatively high language-learning aptitudes, and vice versa. It has also been empirically observed that children in all kinds of societies master

the structure (but very little of the vocabulary) of their native tongue by an average age of 5 ½ years. The effect of superior aptitude for this age-group usually shows up in the form of superior vocabulary.

Individuals who learn new languages later in life, especially after the age of 15 or so, characteristically have more difficulty with new structure than with new vocabulary, and the difficulty seems to increase with age. It is not uncommon to characterize such people as 'having a foreign accent' or 'speaking brokenly' or 'using bad grammar', even though their vocabulary and general fluency may be quite satisfactory in the acquired language. Although they may have little difficulty in being understood for practical purposes, they are apt to be considered as perpetual foreigners and outsiders.

Since language, moreover, is learned behaviour, the adult learner faces the additional problem of conflicting systems when he tackles a second language. For him the learning process is more complex, inevitably involving such things as equivalences (translation, etc.), whereas for the child learning a first language it is a matter of constant interaction with other speakers, leading to a gradual matching up of the linguistic system with his direct experience of the world (as opposed to experience as already codified in another symbolic system).

2. Language-learning motivation appears to be a factor of equal importance with aptitude, although it is not measurable in the same degree. There is little doubt that highly motivated persons will learn languages faster than poorly motivated ones of the same aptitude, given equal opportunity. Outstanding examples of this kind are found all over the world among immigrants who find themselves thrust into a situation where their very survival depends on acquiring a new tongue in a hurry. On the other hand, travellers with high aptitudes who happen to speak one of the languages of wider communication (such as French or English) have been known to spend years abroad without ever learning a foreign language.

By motivation we mean any event, circumstance, or eventuality which convinces the potential language learner that he will be concretely rewarded for his success or punished for his failure. The infant's motivation is the clearest case: either he learns to talk, or he must forever take what is given him, with no recourse except to cry, and he will be permanently excluded from all kinds of human society as well. He cannot afford to pay lip service to the idea of learning a language; he must learn it.

The desire to pass an examination, qualify for an appointment, be admitted to an advanced course of study, or satisfy some governmental requirement, is of course a type of motivation but, however strong, it is only a temporary one. As soon as the examination has been passed or the requirement satisfied, the motivation ceases and the learning process grinds to a halt. A wish to order meals in a foreign language, to mingle with a different set of people, or to read a foreign literature, may be a weaker, but more permanent, type of motivation, at least for some individuals.

Sad to say, most of the strong, durable kinds of adult motivation for learning a foreign language are purely economic, rather than cultural or social. An individual who has to pay out of his own pocket for translators and interpreters in the course of his daily business is one of the most promising language students that can be found anywhere. In a more general sense, if a man sees clearly that he can better his lot in life by mastering a new tongue, he begins forthwith and does not make excuses. Each successful experience that confirms his hypothesis speeds the learning process, which goes forward to the limit of his aptitude and opportunity.

3. Language-learning opportunity exists in bewildering variety. For the small child, the total opportunity is represented by linguistic behaviour of members of his immediate family, and is limited by their limitations. As he grows older, other children and other members of the community contribute to the learning process, but only much later (usually after he has mastered the structure of his own language) does the school enter the picture. The sheer quantity, rather than its diversification or quality, is what makes language learning easy for the infant, who in effect has no task to perform more important than mastering the linguistic and general behavioural patterns of his small community.

For the older child or the adult, the initial language-learning opportunity is not confined to experience with live speakers of the required dialect, but includes teachers, books (if he is literate in his own language), prescribed courses of study carefully laid out by experts, and all kinds of audio-visual aids, such as radio, television, films, still pictures, slides, diagrams, tapes and records.

Being more mobile than stationary, more active than passive, the adult can also seek out situations to learn and practise the new language. If he is sufficiently motivated, he can in fact create opportunity: by cultivating different friends, by hiring employees or seeking employment whereby the new language will constantly be brought into play, etc.

It is self-evident that, for the learner of a second language, progress need not depend on accidental contacts with speakers of that language in the proper situation (as it does for the pre-lingual child). Quality of opportunity, rather than quantity, therefore becomes a determining factor. The more expert the teacher, the better the book, the more carefully thought out the programme of study, the faster he learns. It may seem obvious to say this, but seen in the context of the total learning process, opportunity emerges as the most manipulable of the three factors of aptitude, motivation and opportunity.

4. The mathematical relationship of the three factors is assumed to be one of multiplication rather than simple addition. Considering the non-measurable (at least at present) nature of motivation, and the only partially measurable nature of opportunity, it is of course impossible to test such a hypothesis. What the assumption means is precisely this: Let A = aptitude,

M = motivation, O = opportunity and R = the rate of achievement in language learning: $AMO = R$.

Aptitude of the individual cannot be altered by any known procedure.

Motivation can, at least theoretically, be increased or decreased by actions of government, attitudes of society and the over-all flow of cultural development. Evidence in this field, however, is slow to come in.

Opportunity can demonstrably be enlarged or narrowed, and the results measured in terms of achievement of control groups within a reasonably short time-span.

Conclusion. If we wish to improve R (the rate of achievement) we will do best to apply all our short-term resources to the improvement of O (opportunity) and confine our efforts to improve M (motivation) to basic research, to carefully chosen pilot projects, and eventually to long-term programmes.

Linguistic science already provides us with tested and reliable techniques for the improvement of several kinds of opportunity, in the field of teaching methodology, language textbook and tape preparation and teacher training. Linguistic, psychological, economic and social research may eventually provide us with the means of increasing individual and group motivation. We cannot change aptitude, but we can test for it, record the scores, and use them as a check on all our research, thus eliminating the aptitude factor.

5. Only one further assumption (one which seems justified by current experience in many areas of language learning) is necessary: that knowledge of the spoken language is the quickest route to proficiency in the written language. This assumption applies both to the learning of a first language (by the small child) and to the learning of a second language (by older children or adults), regardless of aptitude, motivation and opportunity. It applies to the learning of both structure and vocabulary, more obviously to the former than to the latter. The inclusion of the rate of learning, moreover, is vital to the assumption. It does not imply, for example, that an adult cannot learn written vocabulary in a foreign language without first learning to speak it; only that, in the long run, it will consume more of his time to do so.

F. THE NATURE OF THE UNIVERSITY

Lastly, it is necessary to make some obvious assumptions about the nature of the university itself. While it would be difficult to devise a single definition to fit all kinds of universities in South-East Asia to which this report refers, it is at least apparent that they share certain ideals and aspirations. Since these ideals are not everywhere embodied either in fact or explicit policy, we will state them as assumptions.

1. The university is not simply an upward extension of the educational system from the secondary (or tertiary) level. Whatever it is, it is more than that.

2. The university is not solely a training ground for certain occupations and professions, although it may include faculties or departments conceived for such specific purposes.
3. Universities have variable curricula, elective subjects, expandable libraries, and syllabuses not aimed at specific terminal examinations.
4. From the linguistic point of view, universities treat languages not only as media of instruction and academic subjects, but research tools as well.
5. Elementary instruction in spoken language is not properly a university matter, but must be considered as a factor in the selection and preparation of students for the university.
6. National academies and national-language development programmes have a direct bearing on university matters, whether or not there is any formal relationship between the governmental arms involved.
7. National-language policy, therefore, has a direct bearing on university matters, whether the national language or a language of wider currency is used as the medium of instruction.

II. Common problems of the region

A. NATIONAL-LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Every country of South-East Asia has by now adopted as its own a national language which is distinct from all other national languages, both in the usual sense and in terms of our assumptions (see Chapter I, Section B, paragraph 7). To some extent each of these national languages is new on the international scene, having replaced or being about to replace a language of wider currency in many different situations. In some cases, one of the important new uses of the national language is in university-level education, with all that this implies in terms of increased demands upon the vocabulary of the language.

It means, for example, that courses formerly taught in languages of wider currency, often by expatriate professors, will now or very soon have to be taught in the national language. It means that foreign textbooks will have to be translated into the national language in nearly all the disciplines. For the physical sciences in particular, but for all subjects to some extent, it means that a staggering amount of new vocabulary will have to be dragged into the language in one way or another. It means that library facilities will have to be expanded to accommodate new text material.

More than that, for those disciplines where native speakers of the national language are not yet available as professors, it poses real problems for lectures, seminars and discussions. When expatriate professors are to be used, there are three difficult options: (a) teach the national language to the professor; (b) let him try to operate through an interpreter; (c) let him instruct a junior staff member who knows both languages, and let the junior staff member instruct the class.

The first option is the least costly, in terms of time and individual effort, but has seldom been tried. The second and third options have often been tried, and usually found wanting.

As far as new vocabulary for the national language is concerned, this already serious problem is often made worse by self-imposed difficulties. In those countries where academies have been established to control and expand vocabulary, the emphasis has been more on uniqueness than purely practical considerations. Unwillingness to accept words of international currency, or words from a related neighbour language, is so closely tied up with national aspirations that it is hardly separable as a purely linguistic question (see Chapter IV, Section C).

In those countries, such as Thailand, where the switch from world language to the national language has not had to be made at the university level, the same kinds of problems still exist, though in lesser degree. In those countries where the switch has yet to be made, the problems grow worse the longer they are delayed.

Another activity of language developers, the imposing of standards of correctness on grammatical, graphic, phonological, and other structural aspects of the national language, need not concern us here because what is done in this field will have no effect whatsoever on the transmission of information through the educational system.

B. PROPAGATION OF THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE WITHIN THE COUNTRY

Every country of South-East Asia faces, to a greater or lesser extent, the task of getting its chosen national language accepted by all of its own people.

It is possible to arrange a scale of difficulty for the task, as follows: relatively easy (South Viet-Nam, Cambodia, Thailand), difficult (Indonesia, Philippines), very difficult (Burma, Laos, Malaysia).

The three countries where the task is relatively easy share the feature of having a high proportion of the population as native speakers of dialects close to (or identical with) the standard language, South Viet-Nam being the outstanding example. Indonesia and the Philippines have a somewhat more difficult task in that, although most of the people in these countries speak languages related to the national language and there is a kind of over-all feeling of ethnic unity, not many of the vernaculars have any degree of mutual intelligibility with the standard language. (Indonesia is rated ahead of the Philippines here mostly because of its more vigorous language policy, especially in so far as it affects primary education.) Laos and Burma share the problem of having minority groups speaking unrelated languages representing nearly one-third of the population, so that while the national language is the majority language it does not enjoy a clear ethnic prestige. (Burma is given the edge here because its primary school system probably teaches a larger percentage of minority group children the national language.) Malaysia's task is clearly the most difficult of all, for many reasons (see Chapter IX).

C. THE ROLE OF LANGUAGES OF WIDER COMMUNICATION

Every country of South-East Asia faces the same dilemma with regard to languages of wider currency, defined here as 'world languages', even if it has a strong national language and the choice of a second language has long been established (e.g., Thailand, English as second language). The alternatives are as follows: (a) emphasize the national language in the higher education curriculum and cut off access of its graduates to wider world literature and personal contacts; (b) emphasize world language(s) in the higher education curriculum and cut off forever the hopes of qualified students whose only fault may have been lack of language aptitude or learning opportunity at the earlier stages of education.

Those countries, such as Burma (Chapter V, Section A.1, end) which have passed this dilemma along to their secondary students in the form of just those alternatives, by offering a national-language stream alongside a world-language stream, are likely to uncover new problems. Although the national-language stream does better in secondary school, the world-language stream may eventually do better in the university and get the coveted jobs. Those countries such as the Philippines (Chapter X), which circumvent the dilemma by requiring courses in two or more languages for all students are apt to come up with mediocre results all across the board.

Wherever the first alternative (the national language) has been deliberately chosen, as in Thailand, the domestic university students are thoroughly aware of the fact that those privileged few who go abroad to study are the country's real first-class citizens. Where the second alternative is elected, as in Cambodia, the aspirations and motives of students at the lower levels of education are severely affected, because those who fail know they have failed forever. Worse than that, cheating in examinations becomes a serious problem.

But the question of the role of world languages in higher education has even more far-reaching implications. Every country of the region, in fact, does make some use of a language of wider communication in some part of its curriculum. A few countries, such as Cambodia, Laos and the Philippines go to the extreme of using French or English as the medium of instruction beginning with the primary school. In other countries, such as Thailand and Indonesia, the use of spoken English is restricted to lectures in a few subjects, but a reading knowledge of English is indispensable, because English-reading assignments are made in a wide variety of subjects.

It is in this last connexion that the most insoluble of all problems arises. Although responsible officials in many countries speak in terms of translating or adapting existing material in foreign languages and thus making it available to students in national-language form, it is obvious that such a solution can apply at best only to the secondary schools and technical institutes, where the course of study is prescribed, there are fewer electives and original research is not required. It can apply to the university only if the university is conceived as an extension of the secondary school, with the same kinds of limitations, but that is surely not the kind of university that the countries of South-East Asia are trying to create (see Chapter I, Section F).

Nor is the problem of translating text materials simply a matter of 'developing' the national language (increasing its vocabulary). It is possible, of course, that by dint of expenditure of great financial and human resources, a crash programme could produce a sufficient amount of basic textbooks to supply even a university, so that students could follow courses entirely in the national language. But a casual tour of any existing university library will show that the vast majority of the volumes are not basic textbooks at all. In the natural sciences, the journals are possibly even more important than the basic textbooks (however recently they may have been published). Research in the humanities, likewise, requires constant referral not only to journals, but to books which may never even be reprinted in the original language, to say nothing of being translated into another.

The experience of the academically more 'developed' countries of which the national language does not happen to be a world language is extremely relevant here. The Scandinavian countries, certain Eastern European countries and such disparate nations as Brazil, Japan and the Netherlands all have established universities of the highest repute. None of these universities would entertain for a moment the notion of dropping their requirements in such languages as English, Russian, French, German or Spanish for nationalistic reasons, because the moment they did so they would effectively cut off large portions of their academic and research activities and throw themselves, at the same time, out of contact with most of the world.

D. LANGUAGE PREPARATION OF STUDENTS

Every country of South-East Asia faces the problem of preparing its students to communicate in one or more non-native languages at some or all of the levels of education. Even those countries where world languages are not used as the medium of instruction offer them as content subjects, largely for reading purposes. And all the countries have, to a greater or lesser degree, the additional task of teaching the national language, from the primary level upward, to students whose first language differs sharply from it. A few countries, such as the Philippines and South Viet-Nam, also have requirements in a third language which is neither the medium of instruction nor the world language of primary emphasis.

We might also mention some of the other reasons for which language instruction is conducted in the schools. A spoken language is frequently 'taught' to students who already speak it natively, the stated objectives being 'to teach them to speak correctly' or even 'to teach them how to express themselves'. Such training, whether the specific reference is to pronunciation, grammar, usage or style, we can group under a general heading: standardization. Another type of language teaching is directed at non-native speakers who are considered to have been taught improperly, in one way or another, during the early stages of learning, either the spoken or written language; such teaching is remedial. A third type of instruction, usually in a written language, is aimed at developing comprehension of the new language for reading purposes, frequently by short-cutting the prior steps in the language-learning process; such instruction is designed to provide a research tool.

When the objectives for teaching languages are not as clearly defined, or only vaguely cultural in character, we will label the instruction academic.

Distinguishing among the types of languages taught in the schools, and between the spoken and written, we arrive at Table 2, which attempts to show the purposes of the various types of instruction which actually occur.

TABLE 2. Purposes of various types of instruction

Type of language	Spoken	Written
Vernacular	To native speakers for standardization purposes only	To native speakers as temporary medium of written instruction
National language	To non-native speakers as new medium of oral instruction	To all learners as academic subject
	To native speakers for standardization purposes only	To most learners as new medium of written instruction
First language of wider communication	To non-native speakers as new medium of oral instruction	To all learners as new medium of written instruction
	To native speakers for standardization purposes	To all learners as academic subject or research tool
	To previous learners for remedial purposes	To previous learners for remedial purposes
Second language of wider communication	To all speakers as academic subject, or means of acquiring competence in the written language	To all learners as academic subject or research tool

Another sort of problem patently exists, then, in connexion with preparing students in languages: the mixture of purposes, not always as clearly defined as in Table 2, which pervades the instructional system all the way down to the primary level. There is undoubtedly a further confusion which develops from a lack of understanding of the relation between spoken and written language, and an unwillingness to consider the possibility that proficiency in the former is the quickest way to achieve proficiency in the latter (see Chapter I, Section E, paragraph 5).

E. LANGUAGE MATERIALS AND TEACHER TRAINING

Every country of South-East Asia faces a problem, if not a crisis, both as regards the development of materials for language teaching and the training of teachers to use them effectively. The first aspect of the problem tends to be most acute in the teaching of the national language and the second in the teaching of world languages. The reasons are obvious: it is much easier to obtain good ready-made teaching materials in the more widely studied world languages than in the national languages, but there is a great deal more latitude in the selection, training, and supervision of national language teachers than in that of world-language teachers. These observations, it should be pointed out, however, apply to the potentialities of the situation rather than the actual practice in the various countries, where (as pointed out in the previous section) different kinds of confusion cloud the issue.

Most of the countries, moreover, by now have established teacher-training colleges in which one of the more important functions is to train future teachers in both the content and method of teaching languages at the elementary and secondary levels. We must therefore add eight new items to Table 2 showing purposes for which languages are taught, representing the four types of language (vernacular, national, first and second wider communication) and distinguishing the spoken and written. In this case we would not attempt to distinguish whether the students (i.e., would-be teachers) are native speakers of the language or not.

A list of the different types of language-teaching texts that exist—plentiful for some languages, scarce for others, but needed by all—could be summarized as follows: (i) conversation manuals, with primary emphasis on the structure of the spoken language; (ii) phrase books, with primary emphasis on the vocabulary of the spoken language; (iii) grammar and exercise manuals, emphasizing structure of the written language; (iv) readers, emphasizing vocabulary of the written language; (v) grammars, presenting the total system of structure of both spoken and written language, usually with emphasis on the latter; (vi) dictionaries, presenting the most common vocabulary items of both spoken and written language, with emphasis on the latter; (vii) pronunciation manuals, or descriptions of the sound system, always in terms of a parallel system of writing; (viii) orthography manuals, or descriptions of the writing system, sometimes in terms of a parallel sound system.

Texts which combine two or more of these basic types are frequently found, e.g., dictionaries which contain elements of (v), (vii) and sometimes (viii), conversation manuals which include elements of (ii) and (iii), etc.

The common methods of presentation of these texts can be summarized as follows: (a) recitation, or active individual participation (usually oral), within the classroom framework; (b) group recitation, or simultaneous active participation, by the entire class (usually oral); (c) laboratory work, or active individual participation, involving audio-visual aids (usually outside the classroom); (d) group laboratory work, or active participation, by the entire class involving audio-visual aids (inside or outside the classroom); (e) lectures, or passive oral participation, by the entire class (usually in the classroom, may involve audio-visual aids); (f) assignments, or work done on an individual basis outside the classroom, but by the entire class (usually written); (g) research, or individual work done outside the classroom, but not by the entire class (usually written); (h) programmed instruction, or individual work done by the entire class, but each at his own speed (inside or outside the classroom, usually written, but may be oral, using tapes).

In theory, no fewer than sixty-four different kinds of language material presentation are possible [materials (i) to (viii) times presentation methods (a) to (h)]. In practice some thirty such combinations actually occur (example of an obvious gap: group laboratory work on a dictionary text), but by far the most favoured materials and techniques at the elementary levels are these: (iii) grammar and exercise manuals; (b) group recitation; (iv) readers; (f) assignments. The most difficult kind of material to produce, on the other hand, is (i) conversation manuals which are adaptable to (h) programmed instruction; unfortunately this is precisely the type of combination most needed in large-scale elementary language-training programmes.

It would also be possible to add another dimension to the scheme by considering the needs for teacher training. Wherever the need for elementary language materials is great, a problem of pedagogy is also likely to exist. The ideal training-college syllabus, then, would also have to be adapted to the dual roles of content and methodology, i.e., while the prospective teacher is learning the content of Language A, he can also be learning a methodology for teaching Language B, which he already knows.

F. SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF THE UNIVERSITY

By way of summary, let us single out those elements of the general problems outlined above which have marked effects at the university level, or are peculiar to the university as distinct from the lower levels of education. Perhaps one common denominator of all specific university problems is cost:

what is feasible for the primary- and secondary-school system in terms of a larger unified budget is not necessarily applicable at the top of the educational pyramid, where even the most attractive solutions have to be considered almost *ad hoc* for a particular department or faculty. Another common denominator has to do with personnel: whereas the staff of lower-level institutions are somewhat interchangeable, the departure of a key professor from a university faculty may be a blow which no amount of increased funds can counter.

1. Connected with the whole question of national-language development is the relationship between institutions of higher education and academies, or other institutions charged with implementing national-language policy. Even where this relationship is a harmonious one, problems still arise in such areas as parallel projects and staffing, lack of freedom of the university to engage in research for its own sake, and the delay in publication of badly needed material because of the slowness of vocabulary approval by the language authority.

2. Efforts to propagate the national language within the country have peculiar side effects at the higher-education level. Foremost among these effects is the admission of students whose general background and preparation (aside from language proficiency) may be insufficient, either as a result of having been partly educated in the 'wrong' medium (speakers of vernaculars) or as a result of having been given preferential treatment because of their earlier education in the 'right' medium (speakers of the national language). A common complaint about the latter category of students is that 'they can't express themselves', or even 'they don't know how to think'. Sometimes, these observations are covertly conceived as criticism of the 'poverty' of the national language, but almost invariably it is the poverty of the educational system itself which is to blame.

Other side effects of national-language propagation occur where the national language has recently been adopted as the medium of instruction at the university, or where such a change has been proposed for the near future. Foremost among these are problems of expatriate professors (see Chapter III, Section F.2), textbooks and library facilities (Chapter III, Section F.3), but both these matters also involve many other factors as well.

3. All of the problems posed by the role of languages of wider communication have their most serious effects at the highest level of education in the countries of South-East Asia (as discussed in Section C above). It is in this area that university costs and personnel problems will escalate the most rapidly.

4. The language preparation of students usually shows its effects long before the student has reached the higher-education level, rather than in the university itself. The chief problem in connexion with the admission of students is the potential disqualification of gifted students on purely linguistic grounds, when such students are merely the victims of low language-learning

aptitude combined with lack of opportunity. In the university itself, the confusion of purposes for language instruction does create a few very real problems, however (see paragraph 6 below).

5. The question of language materials and teacher training, except in so far as it affects the preparation of pre-university students, has very little direct impact on the university. It obviously does have its most serious effects, however, in other types of higher education, particularly in the teacher-training colleges. Here again, it is costs and personnel which are crucial. Wherever elementary- and secondary-school-language teaching must be done by non-native speakers (as it usually must be done in the case of the world languages), extreme care must be exercised in the training of the teachers, not only in methodology, but in content. The alternative is to have a non-standard version of the world language spread through the country like a brush fire.

6. One other problem peculiar to a few universities but not touched on in the preceding pages, is nevertheless directly attributable to national-language policy. This is the compulsory-language course, for university students, in a third language (other than the national language and the first language of wider communication). In some cases the third language may be even a fourth or fifth, e.g., for the student who attended a vernacular lower primary school, a national-language upper primary, and a world-language secondary school prior to entrance into the university. In any case the already over-burdened university student is required to pursue a course of study in a language for which he may have only the vaguest kind of cultural motivation (aside from the motivation of the compulsory credit), a course which may itself suffer from lack of specific objective (see page 31).

III. Current solutions

A. THE POLICIES

1. *World languages*

All eight countries of the region have found it necessary to include a language of wider communication in their general-policy planning. The purposes for which the world language is used vary from country to country, but the common denominator is communication with the outside world. In four of the countries, the world language also widely serves as a useful lingua franca (lf) for segments of the internal population who could not otherwise readily communicate. The only world languages in the region with this kind of status are English and French, of which English is used by Burma (lf), Indonesia, Malaysia (lf), Philippines (lf) and Thailand and French by Cambodia, Laos (lf) and South Viet-Nam.

In all eight countries, a third world language, Mandarin, has the unofficial but powerful function of binding the Chinese segments of the population to one another and to the outside world. In all of the countries, moreover, some Chinese language (mainly Hokkien, Cantonese, and Tiechiu) also serves as a lingua franca and a vehicle of commerce. In none of the countries, however, is any Chinese language recognized by general policy as an official language.

Two other European languages, Dutch and Spanish, have vestigial importance in Indonesia and the Philippines, respectively. Neither is recognized in general-policy planning, and only Spanish in educational planning.

2. *Media of instruction*

In education itself, there are basically only two types of policy. One is to use a world language as the medium of instruction from the upper-primary or lower-secondary level onward. The world language so used is always the same one as is recognized by general policy, i.e., either English or French. The other policy is to use the national language throughout primary and secondary education, introducing the world language only as an occasional medium of instruction or text source, mainly at the higher levels. South Viet-Nam uses both English and French in this way; the others only one language.

All countries practise some form of public vernacular education (i.e., instruction in languages which are neither national nor world languages), at least in lower-primary school. In the case of Malaysia, there is multistream public education (world, national, and vernacular) all the way through secondary school. In the case of some higher-education subjects in Burma and South Viet-Nam, instruction is in two streams (world and national). There are no vernacular universities, in the sense we have chosen to use the term.

All countries tolerate private institutions which teach in a language other than that prescribed for public education at that level. The most common media of instruction in such schools are English, French and Chinese, and the usual levels are primary and secondary, but there are many private English-medium colleges and universities in the Philippines, two Chinese-medium higher institutions in Singapore, and one private French-medium university in South Viet-Nam. In the case of primary and secondary schools, all governments attempt to regulate private education and make it conform to the public curriculum. Only Malaysia directly subsidizes Chinese schools.

All countries except Laos have at least one public university. In all the universities of the region, world languages play some part in the instruction, either in their oral form (lectures) or written form (textbooks and library facilities).

Table 3 summarizes the public educational policies of the various countries with respect to the medium of instruction up to higher education (HE):

TABLE 3. Public educational policies of the various countries

Country	Languages		
	Vernacular	National	World
Burma	Grades 1 to 3	Grades 1 to HE	HE
Cambodia	(minimal)	Grades 1 to 4	Grades 5 to HE
Indonesia	Grades 1 and 2	Grades 3 to HE	(minimal)
Laos	(minimal)	Grades 1 to 6	Grades 7 to 13
Malaysia	Grades 1 to 12[1]	Grades 1 to 12[2]	Grades 1 to HE
Philippines	Grades 1 and 2	(Grades 1 and 2)	Grades 3 to HE
South Viet-Nam	Grades 1 to 3	Grades 1 to HE	HE[3]
Thailand	(minimal)	Grades 1 to HE	(minimal)

1. Refers to Chinese and Tamil streams.
2. Eventually, Grades 1 to HE.
3. Both French and English.

3. *Obligatory language courses*

All eight countries require the study, in language courses as distinguished from the medium of instruction, of both the national language and the world language at some point in the curriculum. One country, the Philippines, requires study of a third language as part of the higher-education curriculum: Spanish. South Viet-Nam requires the study of both English and French in its full secondary-school curriculum; for the first cycle only, students may choose one of the two languages. The remaining obligatory courses are in classical languages such as Pali, Sanskrit, Latin and Greek.

Table 4 summarizes the period of time in years for which the various obligatory courses in modern languages must be taken. Since requirements at the higher-education level vary with the specialization of the student (except for Spanish), these years are not included in the totals. The assumption of the table is that the student completes all of his secondary education in public school and enters a public university.

TABLE 4. Obligatory courses in modern languages

Country	Obligatory courses					
	National language	Years	World language	Years	Other language	Years
Burma	Burmese	12	English	5	—	—
Cambodia	Khmer	12	French	9	—	—
Indonesia	Indonesian	12	English	6	—	—
Laos	Laotian	13	French	10	—	—
Malaysia	Malay	12	English	12	—	—
Philippines	Pilipino	8	English	10	Spanish	2
South Viet-Nam	Vietnamese	12	French	7	English	3
			(or English	7	French	3)
Thailand	Thai	12	English	8	—	—

4. *The nature of the national languages*

Table 5 shows the general characteristics and origins of the eight national languages involved. It also gives some information as to the types of literature currently available in these languages, using the following symbols to indicate heavy concentrations of the literature in certain fields: R (religion, philosophy and history), C (classical literature), M (modern literature, including newspapers and magazines), T (technical and scientific). It should be understood, however, that the absence of a particular symbol does not imply that this category of literature does not exist at all. In the case of Malay and Indonesian, the literature is actually interchangeable; the specific designations refer to the country of origin rather than to the language itself.

TABLE 5. General characteristics and origins of national languages

National language	Type	Family	Alphabet	Literature
Burmese	Tonal	Sino-Tibetan	Indic	R C T
Khmer	Non-tonal	Mon-Khmer	Indic	R C
Indonesian	Non-tonal	Malayo-Polynesian	Roman	M T
Laotian	Tonal	(Sino-) Thai	Indic	R
Malay	Non-tonal	Malayo-Polynesian	Roman (and Arabic)	R C
Pilipino	Non-tonal	Malayo-Polynesian	Roman	C (Tagalog)
Vietnamese	Tonal	Mon-Khmer (?)	Roman	R C M T
Thai	Tonal	(Sino-) Thai	Indic	R C M

5. *Effects on higher education*

Whichever of the two basic educational language policies a country chooses to adopt with regard to the medium of instruction, and whatever language courses it makes obligatory during the period of schooling, a satisfactory solution for higher-education problems does not seem to emerge. One important reason for this is that, in most countries of the study, lower and higher education are not directed by the same authority. Ministries of education have enough problems of their own without being exclusively concerned with preparing students for universities. University administrations have only a limited power to screen out students who, they feel, have been insufficiently prepared, and no power at all to dictate the curriculum of the all-important secondary schools.

But the language dilemma goes deeper than that. Even in the few countries where central authority exists, neither of the options seems to produce really satisfactory results. Using the national language as a medium of instruction in the lower schools produces students with a good general knowledge of a great many subjects, but no matter how many hours of world-language study are scheduled, they arrive at the university insufficiently prepared to take advantage of world-language resources, and it is now too late to teach them. Conversely, where the world language is used as the medium of instruction from an early point in the system, students may arrive at the university with reasonable language capability, but very little else, in hand; if standards are raised to prevent this, too many students may be turned away at the door.

It is perfectly clear that, given the method of teaching languages now used in South-East Asia, students are learning languages much better in non-language courses, where real communication between teacher and pupil in the foreign language is an essential ingredient of every classroom hour. This does not mean that language courses cannot do the same job, only that they have not been doing it so far.

The learning of a foreign language through such media as arithmetic and social studies has been proven effective, but it is extremely time-consuming, and cuts down the amount of substantive learning in these vital subjects. The real tragedy, here, of course, is that the pupil who drops out of school after four years (and about half do) is hardest hit; he may have almost nothing but marginal literacy in two or three languages to show for the period of his total education. It seems an awful price to pay for the one student in a hundred who goes on to the university, even granting that the university student gets a better education in the world language.

A way out of this dilemma, and one which happens to accord nicely with nationalistic sentiment, is seen in the form of complete education in the national-language medium. The example often cited in this connexion is Japan. As a long-range solution, it has strong adherents in every country of the region, including those now committed to world-language education. As a short-range proposition, it would appear that only South Viet-Nam and Indonesia have any reasonable hope of emulating Japan's success. For the other countries, it means a long uphill struggle.

In the meantime, the stop-gap solution is clearly the constant improvement of language-teaching methods, and the constant reappraisal of time apportionment to language study as such (see Chapter IV, Sections D and F).

B. THE INSTRUMENTS OF POLICY

Every country except South Viet-Nam has at least one formal institution which oversees the development of the national language and encourages its propagation within the country. Those countries whose policies call for widespread use of world languages usually have agencies charged with perfecting the teaching of those languages. Some countries also have organizations which concern themselves either officially or unofficially, with general (rather than strictly educational) language policy.

Following are the principal types of policy instruments which are found in the region, with representative examples from various countries. (In most cases, several of the functions listed will be found under the roof of a single agency.)

1. Ministries of education, in all countries, are in a position to carry out (or frustrate) language policy. Most do their best to interpret the requirements for medium of instruction and obligatory language courses into intelligent and practicable operational procedure. Some are intimately concerned with the actual formulation of policy (e.g., South Viet-Nam, Philippines, Laos).

2. Public relations organizations have the duty of stimulating popular awareness about a nation's language problems, informing the public about current solutions, and urging support of the national language as a unifying force. They are found in a few countries with serious linguistic problems, where they usually operate independently of the educational system. Example:

the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka of Malaysia (language and literature agency) which also has many of the other typical functions listed below.

3. Communications media play an enormous role in language matters, either officially or unofficially. Their influence is often underestimated by language planners, even where the media are almost totally controlled by the government. But the written language of newspapers and television, the oral language of radio and television, and even the language of post, telegraph and public notice systems are capable of helping (or hindering) the national policy in two ways: first, by the choice of language and dialect used; second, by the choice of vocabulary and style within that language or dialect. Example: the communications media of Thailand, of which only a part is controlled by the government. (But that part carries out national-language policy in every respect. The national language is used wherever feasible, and the spoken dialect is the standard one which the government is trying to establish all over the country. New Thai vocabulary items are popularized through the press, radio and television. Yet the same media are also used for English lessons, a practice equally in line with current educational policy.)

4. Educational planning boards, either part of the ministry of education or separate from it, take a long range view of school and university problems, including language problems. Sometimes they are the only link, in practice, between lower and higher education policy formulation. Example: the Bureau de Planification d'Education of Cambodia.

5. Educational research organizations conduct actual experiments with different solutions proposed for the same problem, with a view to statistical evaluation of the results (in at least one case, data-processing equipment is used). Such evaluations are then made available to policy planners. Example: the Research, Evaluation, and Guidance Division of the Bureau of Public Schools of the Philippines, which has already made many valuable contributions to the nation's language planning.

6. Teacher-training institutions, in many countries, function as experimental and research centres as well as purely necessary cogs in the machinery of education. Many colleges of education, and some lower-level institutes have model schools attached to them. Language and linguistics teaching is an integral part of the typical programme. Example: the entire teacher-training system of Indonesia, the most complex one of the region.

7. Materials development centres, usually attached to ministries of education, are charged with the creation of textbooks and aids which are lacking in the schools. The emphasis is nearly always on texts in the national language, and quite often on language-teaching aids as well. Example: the Service de Matériel d'Enseignement of South Viet-Nam.

8. Translation services, under various sponsorships, exist in nearly every country. The main task is translation of books and periodicals in European and other world languages into the national language. Some merely coordinate activities of the private publishing sector, but others do much of

this work inside the organization. Example of the latter type: the Burma Translation Society.

9. National-language development agencies, under a wide variety of names, are found in nearly every country. Their function is to develop the vocabulary (and in some cases regularize the grammar and orthography) of the national language. Their typical output extends from terminology lists to full-scale dictionaries, grammars, and even encyclopaedias and atlases. Examples: the Dewan Bahasa of Malaysia (see also paragraph 2 above) and the Institute of National Language of the Philippines.

10. Foreign and international assistance and cultural organizations, though not official instruments of policy themselves, often participate in all these activities (especially those represented in paragraphs 3 to 8 above). Examples: Unesco, French cultural missions, United States AID and information services, the British Council, Colombo Plan, L'Alliance Française, the International Voluntary Service, the Asia, Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.

The universities, curiously, play only a marginal role in the formulation and implementation of language policy. In no country are they clearly a part of the process, except by voluntary independent action (or reaction). But their indirect influence is nevertheless strong. Not only do university professors hold a position of prestige in the national community, but the graduates of universities are among those most likely to succeed to those influential posts in the government where policy is made. Hence the atmosphere of the university campus is a real factor in future language development and planning. In such countries as Malaysia and South Viet-Nam, it may be the crucial one; in both cases sentiment is definitely against the direction that policy is currently taking.

C. ETHNIC GROUPS AND MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION

The media of instruction at various levels in the eight countries of South-East Asia have already been summarized (see Section A.2 above).

The term 'medium of instruction' is, however, not completely unambiguous. Sometimes it refers to oral instruction, sometimes to written instruction, and sometimes to both. Usually, when the text material exists only in the world language, the medium of instruction is officially that language, although entire lecture periods may be devoted to explaining the text in the national language or a vernacular. Conversely, when the medium of instruction is announced as the national language or a vernacular, especially in the primary grades immediately preceding the introduction of a new medium of instruction, the new medium often intrudes into the teaching process prematurely, because teachers realize they do not have enough time to make the switch properly.

In both such situations, however, it is a curious fact that when mediums are mixed in the same classroom, they nearly always follow each other in an order which is just the reverse of the order desirable for effective language teaching. For example, mathematics is officially taught in Cambodia in either Khmer or French, depending on the level of the class. In the lower-primary class where Khmer is still used, the teacher will occasionally present a new lesson in French first, to try out pupils' reactions, then follow with an explanation in Khmer. At a slightly higher level where French is now the medium, the teacher will go through the same process, but for the different reason that the pupils do not understand what they are now supposed to understand. From the point of view of language learning, the reverse order (Khmer followed by French) is far more satisfactory in both cases.

The most difficult situation of all to analyse, however, is when the first year of primary school is taught in a language that is new to most of the pupils and there is no common language to fall back on. This happens quite often in English- and French-medium private primary schools (plus many public ones in Malaysia) and occasionally in national-language schools where there is no vernacular instruction, either because the teacher is from a different area or because there simply is no common vernacular represented among the pupils. It happens most frequently of all in Chinese-medium schools, unless the pupils all happen to come from the same background (e.g., Hokkien, Tiechiu, Cantonese). In such primary schools, the process of language learning and general instruction are so inextricably woven together that it would be folly to try to separate them.

The medium of instruction in Chinese schools is usually said to be, simply, Chinese. This can mean a great many different things, depending on the nature of the enrolment: (a) it can mean instruction in Mandarin from the very first day (as in the case described above); (b) it can mean instruction in a majority vernacular, such as Hakka, until the changeover to Mandarin can be expediently made; (c) where the teacher is capable of it and the situation calls for it, there can be temporary instruction in two or more vernaculars; (d) when the whole school is decidedly from a single background, there can even be vernacular instruction throughout. (In the case of Cantonese, there are said to be graduates of such schools who are literate in Chinese characters but do not know the Mandarin pronunciation of more than a few.)

The four tables below (Tables 6-9) attempt to summarize the official information on media of instruction as seen from the point of view of individual languages and the populations they serve as native languages. Table 6, headed 'World languages', summarizes the regional uses of those languages which have widespread currency outside the region, and gives estimates of the number of their native speakers throughout the world. Table 7 does the same for the national languages, seen from the point of view of their spoken-language bases, and gives figures for total regional speakers. In Table 8, the subject is the classical languages, no longer spoken except in religious ceremonies and certain specialized situations, which are widely studied in the region; to these should perhaps be added classical Chinese (see Mandarin, Table 6), Khmer (Table 7), and Javanese (Table 9). Finally, those languages which occur in vernacular education, even marginally, are listed in Table 9; the figures for native speakers, except in the better-known languages, are extremely uncertain.

In the three tables involving living languages (Tables 6, 7 and 9) an

TABLE 6. World languages

Language	Lower-education medium	Higher-education medium	Required course (not principal medium)	Other uses	Native speakers (world) (millions)
Mandarin	Malaysia (one stream)	Malaysia		All countries, university programmes	480
(Gwoyu)	All countries (private schools)	(Singapore)		Classical language, South Viet-Nam	
English	Malaysia (one stream) Philippines Many countries (private)	Malaysia Philippines Burma (partially)	Thailand Burma Indonesia (South Viet-Nam) (Cambodia)	All countries, optional course	275
Spanish			Philippines (secondary, university)	Few countries, optional course	150
Russian				Few countries, optional course	130
Japanese				Many countries, optional course	100
German				Few countries, optional course	90
French	Cambodia, Laos, South Viet-Nam (private)	Cambodia, Laos, South Viet-Nam	South Viet-Nam	All countries, optional course	60
Tamil	Malaysia (one stream) Burma (private)			Malaysia and Burma, university programmes	40

Table 7. National languages

Spoken-language base	Lower-education medium in:	Higher-education medium in:	Required course and base of national language in:	Other uses	Native speakers in region (millions)
Vietnamese	Viet-Nam Thailand, Laos and Cambodia (private)	Viet-Nam	South Viet-Nam North Viet-Nam		27
Thai/Lao	Thailand, Laos (1 to 6)	Thailand	Thailand, Laos	University programme, Malaysia	25
Indonesian/ Malay	Indonesia, Malaysia (one stream)	Indonesia	Indonesia, Malaysia	Vernacular programme, Thailand University programmes	20(?)
Burmese	Burma	Burma	Burma		15
Tagalog	Philippines (1 and 2) (one area)		Philippines (Pilipino)		6-8
Khmer	Cambodia (1 to 6), South Viet-Nam (vernacular)		Cambodia	Classical language, Thailand and Laos	5

Table 8. Classical languages

Languages	Countries chiefly involved	Uses
Pali and/or Sanskrit	Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia	Pagoda school and secondary school curriculum. University linguistic, Buddhist and Indian studies
Latin and/or Greek	South Viet-Nam Philippines	Secondary-school and university linguistic and Christian studies
Arabic	Malaysia, Indonesia	Linguistic, historical and Islamic studies

TABLE 9. Vernacular languages

Language	Vernacular education	Also spoken in	Regional speakers (millions)
Javanese	Indonesia	Malaysia	50
Sundanese	Indonesia		13
Visayan	Philippines	Malaysia	11
Madurese	Indonesia		8
Cebuano	Philippines		7
Ilocano	Philippines		5
Cantonese	Chinese schools (temporary medium)	All countries	4
Hiligaynon	Philippines		4
Tiechiu	Chinese schools (temporary medium)	All countries	4
Karen	Burma	Laos, Thailand	3
Minangkabau	Indonesia	Malaysia	3
Hokkien	Chinese schools (temporary medium)	All countries	3
Batak	Indonesia	Malaysia	3
Bicol	Philippines		2
Meo	Thailand, Laos	Burma	2
Hailam	Few Chinese schools	Most countries	2
Shan	Burma	Thailand, Laos	2
Balinese	Indonesia		2
Pampango	Philippines		1
Hokchiu	Few Chinese schools	Most countries	1
Achinese	Indonesia	Malaysia	1
Bugis	Indonesia	Malaysia	1
Pangasinan	Philippines		1
Chin	Burma		1
Yao	Thailand	Laos, Burma	1
Cham	South Viet-Nam	Cambodia	1
Kachin	Burma		1
Khmu	Laos	Thailand	1
Waray	Philippines		1
Mon	Burma	Thailand	—
Muong	South Viet-Nam	Cambodia	—
Iban	Indonesia	Malaysia	—
Kedazan		Malaysia	—
Stierg	South Viet-Nam	Cambodia	—
Rhode	South Viet-Nam	Cambodia	—
Jarai	South Viet-Nam	Cambodia	—
Kahaw	South Viet-Nam	Cambodia	—

attempt has been made to rank them according to the size of their native-speaking communities. Although in general the world languages outrank the national languages of South-East Asia in this respect, and the national languages outrank most of the vernaculars, one curious anomaly emerges: Javanese, a vernacular, has more native speakers than any of the national languages, and almost as many as one of the recognized international languages, French.

The region, as defined for the purposes of these tables, includes the eight countries of this study plus North Viet-Nam (it does not include Hong Kong, Taiwan, or any part of mainland China). In the case of the Chinese languages in Table 9, figures apply to regional native speakers only. In the case of Mandarin in Table 6, the figures are for the entire world.

D. LANGUAGE COURSES AND THEIR OBJECTIVES

The typical language course in the region, regardless of objective or level of instruction, runs from three to five hours a week, with an enrolment of ten to fifty students. If the typical academic year contains thirty effective weeks (excluding holidays, examinations, parades and other interruptions), this means that the average language student gets about 120 effective hours of instruction per annum in each language course he takes. In so far as individual attention by the teachers is possible at all, an average class size of thirty means that he might get a maximum of four such hours a year.

A fair estimate of the time it takes to get a working command of a new foreign language, assuming a competent teacher and programme, and a student of average aptitude and reasonable motivation, lies between 500 and 1,000 hours. Such estimates are based primarily on experience in intensive language courses,[1] where the size of the class is limited to six to ten students and the instruction is concentrated in a short time-period of six months to one year. Reinforcement from outside the language course, either in the school or in the community as a whole, may cut the time required to as little as 500 hours, but the larger figure of 1,000 hours is more realistic for unreinforced language study. Other variables are the similarity of the foreign-language structure and vocabulary to the student's native language, the age of the student (as well as his aptitude and motivation), the suitability of the text for the objective of the course, the proficiency of the teacher in the foreign language (as well as his training in the method of teaching), and the concentration of the time-period.

Using a rough figure of 800 hours for the over-all time-span necessary for mastering a new foreign language, the typical intensive course (averaging eight students per class) gives 100 hours of individual attention to the average student before he attains this objective. Translated into the terms of the typical unreinforced language course given in South-East Asian schools, this 100 hours is equivalent to about twenty-five years of language study. The average student, in countries where the foreign language is not the medium of instruction in the schools, gets about six years of study. Table 10 below illustrates the actual cases.

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[1] For example, at the Foreign Service Institute of the United States Department of State, Washington, D.C.

TABLE 10. Years spent on foreign language prior to university entrance in countries where national language is primary medium

Country	Language	Maximum years	Other purposes of course
Burma	English	5	Reading comprehension
Indonesia	English	6	(minimal)
South Viet-Nam	French and English	7 and 3	Literary, cultural
Thailand	English	8	Literary, cultural comprehension

Where the foreign language is used as the new medium of oral and written instruction in the lower schools, the time-period of preparation is even less. But the foreign-language courses continue after the change-over, and are enormously reinforced in the other subjects. The situation is summarized in Table 11. In all such cases, in fact, it is impossible to say what the contribution of language study is to the attainment of the objective, because the objective is never attained before the new language is introduced as the medium of instruction.

TABLE 11. Years spent on study of foreign languages prior to their introduction as the medium of instruction

Country	Language	Maximum years	Remarks
Cambodia	French	3	Khmer continues as partial medium
Laos	French	3	Lao continues as partial medium
Malaysia (English stream)	English	0[1]	In most cases, no possibility of vernacular supplement, because of mixed classes
Philippines	English	2	Vernacular or national language continues as partial medium
Chinese schools (all countries)	Mandarin	0[1]	Vernacular is supplementary medium wherever possible

[1] Except kindergarten.

Wherever national languages are taught, the objectives depend on whether or not the national language is used as the primary medium of instruction, but the time-period involved is usually about the same regardless of the objectives: about twelve years. Table 12 summarizes this situation. The objectives common to all national-language courses are literacy in the written language, familiarization with the literature and general culture of the nation, and standardization of the spoken language; these are not repeated in the table.

TABLE 12. Years spent on study of national languages and the objectives of such study

Country	Language	Maximum years	Purposes
Burma	Burmese	12	Primary medium of instruction, new for some students
Cambodia	Khmer	12	Temporary medium, known to most students
Indonesia	Indonesian	12	New primary medium of instruction for most students
Laos	Lao	13	Temporary medium, new for some students
Malaysia (three streams)	Malay	12	Requirement; known to only a few students
Malaysia (one stream)	Malay	12	Primary medium of instruction, known to most students
Philippines	Pilipino	10	Requirement; known to few students
South Viet-Nam	Vietnamese	11	Primary medium of instruction, known to most students
Thailand	Thai	12	Primary medium of instruction, one dialect known to most students

The remaining language courses frequently taught in the region, whether required or not, have characteristic objectives associated with them. Since most such courses are taught only at the university level, the number of years available for their study is not often more than two or three. Table 13 summarizes these objectives (but see also Tables 6 and 8 above).

TABLE 13. Typical objectives of other language courses

Language	Emphasis	Typical objectives
Arabic	Classical	Linguistic and Islamic studies
Chinese	Classical and written	Historical and regional studies
English	Modern	All purposes
French	Modern	All purposes
German	Modern written	Scientific research
Greek	Classical	Linguistic and Christian studies
Japanese	Modern written	Scientific research
	Modern spoken	Regional communication
Javanese	Classical	Linguistic and literary studies
Khmer	Classical	Linguistic studies
Latin	Classical	Linguistic and Christian studies
Mandarin	Modern spoken	Regional communication
Pali	Classical	Linguistic and Buddhist studies
Russian	Modern written	Scientific research
Sanskrit	Classical	Linguistic and Buddhist studies
Spanish	Modern	Mainly academic purposes
Tamil	Classical	Linguistic and religious studies

E. LANGUAGE-TEACHING RESOURCES

1. *Staff: training and supervision*

In general, the language teachers of South-East Asia who are specialists at the job are well trained in the methodology they are supposed to be following. Those who teach national languages are apt to be more secure in their knowledge of the subject matter, and better supervised. Those who teach world languages, except at the highest levels, seldom possess the degree of proficiency in the language that the job requires, but are usually trained in a methodology where this is taken into account. On the one hand, there may be a deplorable lack of supervision of the world-language teacher after he has left the training college or faculty of education; on the other hand, there may be deplorable lack of training of the national-language teacher in dealing with the student to whom the national language is not a native tongue.

Much language teaching, however, is not done by the specialist but by the general teacher, especially at the primary level. This is particularly true of national-language teachers in those countries where the national language is the primary medium of instruction, and of world-language teachers where the world language is introduced very early. Although teacher-training institutions of the general kind spend considerable time and effort on both the content and methodology of language teaching, it is seldom enough where real problems exist. Assignment of specialists to the job, however, is just not feasible in the geographical and educational areas where they are most needed—the primary schools.

Table 14 shows the general status of trained teacher availability (both specialist and generalist) in the various countries.

TABLE 14. Trained teacher availability

Country	National-language teachers	World-language teachers
Burma	Methodology training needed	Content training needed
Cambodia	No problem	Generalists needed
Indonesia	Methodology training needed	Content training needed
Laos	Generalists needed	Content training of generalists needed
Malaysia	Methodology training and more specialists needed	Generalists needed
Philippines	More specialists needed	No problem
South Viet-Nam	No problem	Good French speakers exist; unavailable for teaching
Thailand	No problem except as regards dialects	Content training needed

2. *Texts and aids*

In the typical country, problems of both world- and national-language materials exist, for different reasons. In the case of world languages, although there is an abundant supply of texts and aids for courses of every conceivable objective, the content or methodology of such prefabricated material is often found objectionable, or unsuitable for the particular course-length or academic level involved. Many countries prefer to use textbooks produced locally by experienced teachers or administrators with a particular syllabus in mind. Even where foreign-aid teams have come into a country for the specific purpose of designing such materials for use in the public education, the results of their work are as often as not rejected. In a few countries where the whole world-language syllabus has been imported from abroad, foreign textbooks are still in use, but on the understanding that they will be discarded as soon as suitable local replacements are available.

In the case of national language, there are too few producers of usable materials, which are economically unprofitable unless assured of adoption by national schools. The authors are sometimes scholars with no actual experience in teaching the language, or teachers with insufficient grasp of its structure. In nearly all countries there are political implications to national-language affairs, and these considerations in turn affect the content of the language courses themselves. From the point of view of methodology, with a few notable exceptions there are no authors with training in more than one school of thought. The objective of teaching the minority-group student who comes to school with no knowledge of the spoken language is seldom taken into account. Lack of competition in the field of texts and aids, finally, gives the ministry of education little latitude in its choice of recommended materials.

Table 15 shows the status of materials for national and world languages in the various countries at the present time.

TABLE 15. Status of materials for national and world languages

Country	National-language materials	World-language materials
Burma	Inadequate for non-natives	Largely imported, being developed locally
Cambodia	Adequate for literacy	Largely imported
Indonesia	Good variety	Wide variety, local and foreign
Laos	Extremely scarce	Largely imported
Malaysia	Scarce; inadequate for non-natives	Local and foreign
Philippines	Scarce but improving	Local and foreign
South Viet-Nam	Excellent quality and selection	Largely imported
Thailand	Adequate for literacy	Wide variety, local and foreign

3. *Testing*

Most language testing done in South-East Asia, whether in world or national languages, consists of achievement tests on the written language. The object is to see whether the student has mastered a certain corpus of information in such a way that he can return it intact on an examination paper. In this respect, language tests do not differ greatly from examinations in other subjects. In those countries where world languages are used or are the medium of instruction (and examinations written in that language), in fact, a considerable amount of language proficiency testing goes on unconsciously; students are graded on their ability to express themselves in a foreign language whenever they are given essay questions which they cannot possibly have been specifically prepared to answer. Some of this quality enters language testing at the upper-secondary levels in a number of countries.

Oral tests are given, but few countries have the time or the staff available to administer them on a widespread basis. Since oral testing cannot be done *en masse* (not even when tape equipment is available, without considerable planning), the usual practice is to treat it as a formality, when it is required, or as a device for placement, when it is not. But in either case, decisions of passing, failing, awarding honours or admitting students to higher levels are almost invariably based on the tangible evidence of the written word. Since all oral tests do tend to become proficiency (rather than achievement) tests, examiners are reluctant to expose their own subjective judgements to such life-and-death matters. Also, there is the continual spectre of corruption which hangs over the most honest decisions of this type. Time is likewise a factor: unless the tests can be recorded and graded at leisure, each interview can last only a few minutes at the typical lower-level school.

Aside from occasional oral placement tests and the written examinations in non-language subjects, proficiency testing is not practised at all; it is never consciously intended. Language-aptitude testing, likewise, is almost unheard of in the region. A few countries, such as Laos, have independent outside examiners who give achievement tests on a regular basis. Most language testing, if centralized at all, is controlled by the same ministry that runs the public schools.

F. EFFECTS ON NON-LANGUAGE SUBJECTS

The general effects of language policy on higher education have already been summarized (see Section A.5 above). But of the two basic alternatives chosen by educational planners at present (secondary education in the national language versus secondary education in a world language), it is possible to distinguish two quite different sets of results in the various categories which do not primarily involve language as such: enrolment of students, teaching staff, texts and library facilities. Between the two sets of results, moreover, it would at this point be difficult to make any kind of a value judgement, as both involve advantages and disadvantages alike. A few of these effects are already felt at the primary level, they accumulate at the secondary level, but invariably the area of greatest impact, if not now then certainly for the future, is in the universities themselves. Once the student is enrolled in an institution of higher education, there is very little that language policy can do for him; university language courses are seldom intended to supply the means of instruction to the student who lacks it.

1. *Student enrolment*

Expansion of student enrolment is pushing rapidly upward in all eight countries, for a variety of common reasons. But it is possible already to distinguish two different trends in the character of the enrolment which may be attributable to language policy. These are presented below in simplified form.

National-language medium (Burma, Indonesia, Thailand, South Viet-Nam)

Desirable effects. Public-secondary and higher education open to more students than ever before. Lack of aptitude or opportunity to learn languages no bar to successful admission to university provided minimum requirements have been met. Remedial language courses available, because many other students are in the same situation. Except in South Viet-Nam, attendance at a private school is not an overwhelming asset for admission to the university or success in it.

Undesirable effects. More and more students going overseas for education, getting higher pay on return (e.g., Thailand), or not returning at all (South Viet-Nam). General feeling, whether true or not, that education standards have been lowered to accommodate the many (e.g., Indonesia, Burma), instead of being raised as a challenge to the few. Some students doing better work than others, after admission, because of better language preparation, especially in science and medicine.

World-language medium (Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines)

Desirable effects. Public-secondary and first-class higher education difficult to get into, but automatically placing one among the *élite*. In some fields, equivalence of degree with comparable European and American degrees. Overseas study and scholarships easily available for undergraduates; in-service training for graduates. Communication with professionals in other countries assured after graduation.

Undesirable effects. Proliferation of private institutions because of extreme difficulty of secondary-school examinations (in the Philippines, this proliferation extending to the university level itself). Disqualification of deserving students on language grounds alone. Difficulty of getting the right kind of preparation in primary school (e.g., Malaysia) or secondary school (e.g., Cambodia) without paying for it. Extreme scarcity of educational facilities, held down by lack of teachers able to instruct in foreign medium (e.g., Laos).

2. *Teaching staff*

The same kind of observation can be made in this area as for student enrolment. Although the expansion of education everywhere is creating an unusual demand for teachers and professors, it is possible to distinguish trends in the character of the demand which relate to language policy.

National-language medium. With the pressure on for more and better teachers at all levels, there is a tendency for professional staff to rise too quickly to the top, without sufficient experience at the lower levels. This is especially noticeable at the teacher-training colleges, where staff who would normally be dealing directly with students are engaged in the work of instructing others how to do that job. This tendency is language-related, because the national-language medium precludes the hiring of expatriates who might be qualified to fill the top positions temporarily. It is not yet particularly applicable to the university situation, because students at this level are supposed to be able to follow courses in a world language; however, the time is near for reappraisal of that position in some countries.

The real advantage of the national-language medium, however, lies in the fact that professional staff who have themselves been educated in it have no difficulty in communicating their knowledge to their students. This effect is particularly noticeable in Thailand, which has major problems in the area of textbooks but is still able somehow to transmit knowledge on a fairly large scale. It is too early to observe a comparable snowballing in the other countries which have switched to the national language more recently.

World-language medium. All the countries in this category use the services of expatriate teachers, lecturers and professors, on a temporary or more or less permanent basis, especially in higher education. In some countries they account for a great deal of public (e.g., Laos) and private (e.g., Cambodia) upper-secondary education. In Malaysia, the highest educational administrative positions have been filled by expatriates in recent years.

In addition, the world-language medium tends to perpetuate itself. Being select, it can choose from its own graduates for educational posts with considerable ease, and without unduly rapid advancement for anybody. It is only when the change-over from world to national language takes place (as it already has in South Viet-Nam) that chaos ensues. Not only must expatriates be replaced, but there may be local professors unable to teach in the national language, through lack of either proficiency or inclination; such professors are usually overqualified to serve as language teachers, where they may be desperately needed.

The great advantage of the world-language medium, of course, is that critical vacancies in the university do not necessarily have to be filled from local sources. A second advantage is the regional one: it makes possible the exchange of professors (as well as students) in fields of specialization found only in one country or another.

3. *Texts and library facilities*

It is in this area alone that the world-language medium at present has a clear and undisputable advantage over the national-language medium. Even such countries as North and South Viet-Nam and Indonesia, where considerable progress has been made in the development of texts, periodicals, and bibliography in all fields, the national-language literature does not begin to rival that of any recognized world language or, significantly, that of Japan. In short, the university textbooks needs of all countries can be partially supplied by feverish translation and new creation in the national language, but the libraries remain filled with world-language resources, ranging from two-thirds to virtually all of their present stock.

Recognition of this fact is precisely one of the reasons for the requirement of world-language study in pre-university schooling, even in those countries which have adopted the national-language medium throughout. It is fully realized that research and international communication depend on the ability of the student at least to read world languages. That he cannot do so, in most of the countries where a world language is introduced late in the educational process, should not be interpreted as a failure of language policy; it is a failure, rather, of language teaching.

IV. Future outlook

A. SOME LONG-RANGE PREDICTIONS ABOUT POLICY

The current solutions to problems of language, especially those of education, have been presented in the preceding chapter. The emphasis of this report, however, is on higher education, and it is in this area that we are most likely to see changes of policy in the near future. Malaysia has already announced its intention of making Malay the sole official language by 1967, though what effect this will have on university affairs remains to be seen; the winds of change are blowing both in Burma and South Viet-Nam, most noticeably at the higher education level. Rather than try to predict the outcome of these particular developments, however, let us try to take a long-range view of what may be expected to occur in the region as a whole (setting aside for the moment the assumption of stable language policy).

1. The determination of future language policy of the general kind (i.e., affecting the nation as a whole) will have a direct bearing on linguistic changes in the educational system. Although educational policy can be changed quite easily, simply by fiat from the Chief of State or the Minister of Education, massive readjustments are necessary for any shift in general language policy, as is already being discovered in Malaysia (see also Chapter IX, Section A.2). It is a fact that, in practice, educational policy closely accords with general policy in all countries at the present time.

2. General language policy will not be entirely determined by considerations of international communication alone, although this may be a pre-eminent factor in the particular needs of the university community. It is noteworthy that the countries of the region at present committed to a dual language policy (world language co-existing with national language), with the single exception of Cambodia, are precisely those countries which have the most difficult internal language problems. In other words, in such countries

as Burma, Laos, Malaysia and the Philippines, a world language is still needed for communication within the country, as well as with the outside world.

3. Language policy can always be expected to favour the national language wherever possible. The expected pattern for all countries, regardless of the present situation, is then a steady movement toward the adoption of the national language for one purpose after the other, until it eventually encompasses all purposes, including education.

4. The speed at which each country moves toward a one-language policy depends on three factors: first, the rate of propagation of the national language within the country; second, the numerical relation that develops between the numbers of actual speakers of the national language and the numbers of speakers of other languages of the region and the world (see below, Table 17); third, the amount and kinds of literature available in the national language.

5. The rate of propagation of each national language will depend not merely on the firmness of policy decisions, but on such factors as the following: (a) resources for teaching non-native speakers (methods, teachers, and materials); (b) opportunities for learning, by adults as well as school children; (c) motivation through economic incentives; (d) adequate testing procedures to check national progress, so that resources, opportunity and incentives can be brought to bear on the critical problems; (e) constant reinforcement of the national language through the communications media, including private publishers and broadcasting stations (this last being possibly the most important single factor).

6. The relation between the numbers of national-language speakers and the number of speakers of other regional and world languages might seem at first glance to be a purely arithmetical one, but it too will depend on a number of variable factors: (a) the rate of population increase; (b) the degree of accommodation to, and common development with, closely related languages of the region and of the world; (c) the degree of attraction of speakers from other countries, or loss of speakers to other languages (the amount of literature available being also a factor here); (d) corresponding developments in other countries, especially neighbouring ones.

7. The amount of literature available in the national language will depend, in turn, almost entirely on the direction that educational-language policy takes, although general policy must be considered in such fields as law, medicine, public administration and public works. It is a fact that recent output of material in the national language has been greatest in the two countries of the region which are most totally committed to one-language education: Indonesia and North Viet-Nam. The problems of literature in the non-educational fields tend to take care of themselves only after sufficient numbers of national-language graduates have entered those fields (e.g., in Japan).

8. Regardless of the speed at which a given country is moving toward a one-language status, higher-education policy will continue to stress the use of languages other than the national language, for purposes of research and communication with the outside world, for a long time to come. At first, these will be the present recognized world languages, such as English, French and Chinese. Later, they may include regional languages, the most likely candidate at the moment being Indonesian/Malay.

B. THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL COMMUNICATION

1. *The world outlook*

At present, English is widely thought to be the principal language of international communication, although it is second to Mandarin from the point of view of numbers of native speakers (475 million to 275 million). The predominance of English cannot be statistically established, because in order to do so it would be necessary to count the number of people who use English and Mandarin as second or third languages, and without a worldwide proficiency testing programme even estimates of this kind would be meaningless. The reason this view is held at all is that obviously more people currently are being attracted to English, both as speakers and as readers, than are being attracted to any Chinese, Indian or European language.

If English is indeed the principal language of international communication, it is only the latest in a series of languages to hold this position. In the past such languages as French (now eleventh on the list with about 60 million speakers), Spanish (fourth, 150 million), Latin (now disappeared), Greek (well down the list), Arabic (eighth, 80 million), Persian (in the first twenty), and Chinese itself have enjoyed comparable eminence, depending largely in what part of the world the observer happened to be standing at the time. If anything is clear from the history of international communication, it is that once a language has established itself as predominant in the world it will eventually fall from that perch. There is no reason to suppose, moreover, that this will not happen to English as well.

It is argued by some that the advent of low-cost printing, electronic reproduction and mass communications has changed the pattern permanently, and hence one cannot generalize from the past about the future of English. This is certainly true in the sense that there are now additional variables to consider (besides those mentioned in Section A, paragraph 6 above) which preclude accurate predictions of any kind, since experience with the new technology has been too short to yield reliable data. But the same technology is at least potentially available to all languages in the same degree, and perhaps eventually can be discounted as a factor. If anything, increased reliance on the spoken language at the expense of printing and reproduction of written materials seems to be indicated by the most recent developments;

this works in favour of all languages equally, including those with no present literature to speak of.

2. *The regional outlook*

Rather than try to peer into the crystal ball of international communication and sort out variables for the entire world, let us return now to the original assumption of stable language policies and see what the implications of these policies are for communication within the region. Since population projections to 1980 are available for all the countries concerned, this is a convenient date on which to peg predictions. Only four further assumptions are necessary:

1. That by 1980, if not sooner, all countries will have succeeded in implementing their present policy of establishing the national language, to the point that 100 per cent of the population at that time can be counted as native speakers or competent users of the national language.
2. That by 1980, the policy of secondary education in a world language will have succeeded in producing users of the world language as a second language equivalent to one-third of the total population at that time (proportion based on present estimate of English speakers in the Philippines, which has had this policy for the longest time). A correction factor must be introduced in the case of Malaysia, where only about 40 per cent of students are currently enrolled in the English stream, but an increase to 50 per cent is likely; the proportion assumed is one-sixth.
3. That by 1980, the policy of required courses in world languages and their use in higher education will have succeeded in producing users of a world language as a second language equivalent to 10 per cent of the total population at that time (percentage based on highest estimate for English users in Thailand, which has had this policy, unencumbered by other factors, for the longest time). A correction factor will have to be introduced in the case of South Viet-Nam, where either English or French may be selected, the present ratio of selection being 40 : 60; the percentages assumed are accordingly 4 per cent for English, 6 per cent for French.
4. That by 1980 the permitted practice of using Mandarin as the primary medium of instruction in private Chinese schools will have succeeded in producing users of this language equivalent to one-third of the present percentage of the ethnic Chinese population in the country concerned, applied to 1980 national projections.

These assumptions, together with population projections for 1980, yield the following results (Table 16). Figures for individual spoken languages are regrouped separately (Table 17), with North Viet-Nam included for the sake of estimating total speakers of Vietnamese.

TABLE 16. 1980 projection of national- and world-language users by country

Country	1980 population (and national-language users) (millions)	English/ French users (%)	Total English/ French users (millions)	Ethnic Chinese (%)	Total Chinese (millions)	Mandarin users (×0.33) (millions)
Burma	32	10 English	3.2	1.8	0.6	0.2
Cambodia	9	33 French	3.0	7.5	0.7	0.2
Laos	150	10 English	15.0	2.5	3.7	1.2
Malaysia	4	33 French	1.3	2	0.08	
South	20	16 English	3.2	38	7.6	2.5
Philippines	50	33 English	16.6	1.3	0.6	0.2
Indonesia	21.5	6 French	1.3	6	1.3	0.4
Viet-Nam		4 English	0.9			
Thailand	50	10 English	5.0	9	4.5	1.5
						6.2

TABLE 17. 1980 projection of national- and world-language users by language (in millions)

Language	Country									Total
	Burma	Cambodia	Indonesia	Laos	Malaysia	North Viet-Nam	Philippines	South Viet-Nam	Thailand	
Burmese	32.0									32.0
English	3.2		15.0		3.2		16.6	0.9	5.0	43.9
French		3.0		1.3				1.3		5.6
Indonesian/ Malay			150.0		20.0					170.0
Khmer		9.0								9.0
Mandarin	0.2	0.2	1.2		2.5	—	0.2	0.4	1.5	6.2
Pilipino				—			50.0			50.0
Thai/Lao				4.0					50.0	54.0
Vietnamese						22.5		21.5		44.0

The implications of Table 17, even granting its validity, are not entirely clear. Although Indonesian/Malay promises to have by far the largest number of users in the region, it is represented in only two countries; the existence of a related (but mutually unintelligible) national language, Pilipino, does not really tend to support its position. The same kind of observation applies to the next two largest national languages, Thai/Lao and Vietnamese; the former's position is further weakened by the existence of two separate writing systems. Mandarin will have complete representation in every country (including Laos and North Viet-Nam, although figures are too insignificant to appear in the table), but the total number of users will be comparatively small, and political factors are obviously against its development even as a regional lingua franca. This leaves English as a strong candidate for regional intercommunication, even in 1980; its position is further strengthened by worldwide considerations and the existence of abundant literature. The only other language represented in as many as three countries (four, including North Viet-Nam) is French. Spanish and Dutch are not included in the table because they are neither national nor regional languages at present.

C. PROSPECTS FOR NATIONAL-LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

1. *Vocabulary construction*

One of the most important meanings of the term 'national-language development' is simply the expansion of vocabulary to include terms for all useful concepts, both for educational and general use. In the typical case, the important gaps in national-language vocabulary were formerly filled by foreign-language items: English, French or Dutch, depending on the country. The fact that certain topics were nearly always discussed in the medium of the foreign language inhibited the development of more 'native' terms; on such occasions as these topics were discussed in the national language, the usual practice was (and in some circles still is) to insert foreign-vocabulary items wherever necessary. This practice, above all others, gave use to such common statements as 'You simply cannot talk about physics (law, medicine, etc.) in Vietnamese (Tagalog, Burmese, etc.)'. Closer observation of actual behaviour of speakers reveals such statements to be false: even in colonial times, such topics were being discussed in national languages, although it is quite true that much of the relevant vocabulary was foreign-derived, and usually pronounced in the foreign manner.

Most language developers, consciously or unconsciously, turn to sources other than the former colonial language wherever possible to construct new vocabulary, in their effort to make the national language distinctive in character. For nearly all of the national languages of South-East Asia, non-European classical vocabulary sources exist; for Cambodian, Burmese, and Thai/Lao it is Indic languages, such as Sanskrit and Pali; for Vietnamese, it is the Chinese languages; for Indonesian/Malay it is both Arabic and Indic sources. Only Pilipino relies heavily on Western languages for its loan words.

When the language developer is confronted with a new concept for which there is no established term in the national language, he in fact has only five options open to him (examples in English). (a) to construct a new item, usually a derivative or compound, from already established items of the national language itself ('second-stage booster'); (b) to borrow a word *in toto* from the principal classical source, or construct a new item from classical roots ('philosophy', 'astronaut'); (c) to translate the parts of a foreign phrase, compound or derivative into national language or classical equivalents ('guided democracy'); (d) to take a foreign item from some source, other than the principal classical source, and adapt it to the indigenous phonetic and graphic systems in a standardized way ('chop suey'); (e) to produce a mixed vocabulary item by combining two or more of the above methods ('philosophize', 'egg foo yong').

The order of preference for these different techniques is approximately the order in which they are listed, except that pattern (e) is rather more frequent than might be expected in languages where secondary derivatives are easily made from originally 'pure' items ('philosophize').

Here are some of the national-language versions of the word for a relatively new concept, 'television', classified according to the construction method apparently used: (a) Burmese—*you-myin-than-kya-se* (literally 'figure-see-sound-hear-machine'); (b) Vietnamese—*diên-thi* ('electric-see') and *vô-tuyén-truyèn-hình* ('wireless-transmit-picture') (all roots ultimately Chinese); (c) Thai/Lao—*thoorathát* (an exact equivalent of the Graeco-Latin compound 'television' in terms of Sanskrit roots); (d) Indonesian—*televisi*, Malay—*telebishen;* (e) Khmer—*tuu-tuh* ('vision cabinet', the first element being the common Khmer word for 'cabinet', the second the Sanskrit equivalent of 'vision').

It is significant, however, that the popular word for 'television' in all the spoken languages listed above is an abbreviation of the order of American 'tee-vee', French 'té-vé' or British 'telly'. Only time will tell whether the popular versions will become established in print as well.

A safe prediction about the future trend of vocabulary construction is that as time goes on developers will care less and less about trying to find non-Western solutions to problems, and will adopt more and more international vocabulary, regardless of its origin. This trend is already noticeable in the natural science field, where it is patently impossible for the most assiduous academicians to keep pace with vocabulary demands. It is also observable in a few countries, notably Indonesia, in the non-scientific disciplines as well. As the production of textbooks, journals and other literature begins to escalate, there will no longer be time for carefully considered committee decisions on each new concept; the market will decide, and the advantage is always with the already-established international term, which usually is quickly understood by the bilinguals of the country, if not already used by them.

2. *The academy concept*

Quite apart from new-vocabulary construction, the currently prevalent idea of an academy to oversee the development of the national language seems doomed in any case. In most of its activities, the academy will be left behind, just as it is already being left behind in many countries on the new-vocabulary issue.

The translation and production of school textbooks, where it is not already being taken over by the private publishing industry, will increasingly become the function of teachers' unions, special university programmes and quasi-governmental organizations. The propagation of the national language within the country will depend more and more on the educational system and the communications media, less and less on the academy. The radio, newspapers and television, whether publicly or privately controlled, will exert a decisive influence not only on the spread of the national language, but also on the form in which it is ultimately accepted by the public. It is here that new coinages and usages will stand or fall and not in the academy-approved grammars and dictionaries issued by scholars. The skill with which the national language is taught to minority groups will not come, in the typical country, from the official agency for national-language development, but from the Ministry of Education and the teacher-training colleges.

The future of the academy, in fact, probably lies in acting as a recorder of developments after the fact, and as a public relations organ to keep the public aware of the nationalistic aims of language policy.

3. *Regional co-operation*

There are few fields, educational or otherwise, where actual regional co-operation has been effective. This has been nowhere more striking than in one of the common areas of prime concern for every country: the development of the national language. There are at least three pairs of countries with common problems which could be attacked by joint effort, but owing to political considerations (or perhaps simply national pride) there has been little effective co-operation to this date. A reasonable prediction would be that this state of affairs will not continue for long in the future, simply because scholars seem to find a way of joining forces, even across the most formidable barriers. The three pairs of countries are the following: Indonesia and Malaysia; North and South Viet-Nam; Thailand and Laos.

In the first and last cases, co-operation would necessarily have to be rather one-sided, because of the relative sizes of the countries involved. The Thai-Lao case, although not as politically charged as the others, has the additional complication of different dialects and writing systems.

Even the countries not involved in the above pairings can gain certain advantages from regional co-operation. The national languages of Burma, Cambodia and the Philippines can expect no direct help, either in vocabulary or structure, from developments in the national languages around them. But Burmese and Khmer draw upon the same stock of Indic loan-words for new vocabulary formation as does Thai/Lao; this occurs not only in the realm of Buddhist terminology, but in much wider cultural areas as well. Pilipino, being related to Indonesian/Malay, has much the same type of language development problems and even a small common stock of roots. The kinds of solutions being evolved to problems in any one country, in short, have relevance to problems in at least one other country, and usually more than one.

Although the case for regional co-operation in national language development seems clear, the present trend seems to be in the opposite direction. There would even appear to be a conscious effort on the part of some countries to establish their national languages as more different from nearby languages than they really are. This is particularly true of Malaysia and Laos, but would also apply in some degree to Cambodia and the Philippines, which consciously reject certain solutions to vocabulary gaps because the resulting words would be too much like those used in neighbouring countries. For example, even the word for 'university' itself was subject to a long debate in Cambodia because the obvious combination of Sanskrit roots would come out nearly the same as the Thai word. (A European parallel would be the rejection of a new English word like 'telephone' because it sounded too much like French; in reality, both the roots involved are of Greek origin.)

The question of shared new vocabulary, however, is a minor one beside the larger question of a shared literature. The real opportunity for regional co-operation lies with those pairs of countries which have in effect the same national language, and can use each other's texts, journals, and reference materials. It seems unreasonable to believe that the present lack of co-operation between the two Viet-Nams, between Thailand and Laos, and between Malaysia and Indonesia can long continue. It is even possible that future collaboration may include such elements as a division of labour in certain academic areas, the exchange of professors, and common elements in the scholastic curriculum.

D. COST FACTORS IN LANGUAGE POLICY

South-East Asian governments are spending, and will continue to spend, relatively large percentages of their budgets on education. The proportion of such expenditures which might directly be attributed to educational-language policy is a figure not easily arrived at. Even the obvious conclusion that an educational system which uses a single language of instruction is cheaper to operate than one which uses two or more languages is suspect. One has only to look at the linguistic composition of such countries as Malaysia and the Philippines to see that a unilingual system would entail large expenditures on language training, which are partially avoided by the systems actually used in those countries. The fiscal advantages of an inexpensive educational system must be weighed, in turn, against the manpower needs of the country, in order to avoid hidden costs in non-educational areas, and so on.

The factors which must be taken into consideration are clear enough, although their relation to each other is difficult to determine. We will list these factors below, and base our ultimate conclusions on a common-sense interpretation of their relationship.

1. *The attrition rate*

If it is true that the average South-East Asian student completes only four years of schooling, the attrition factor must certainly be taken into account in the planning of language instruction, regardless of the over-all policy. For example, if large numbers of students must be taught a new language, whether national or foreign, in order to qualify for secondary-school entrance, it is obviously cheaper to delay instruction in the new language as long as possible; the expected reduction in numbers of students to be taught makes it possible to concentrate language-teaching resources on those who can benefit from them most. The opposite choice, to teach the new language to everyone from the first grade, not only dissipates resources but takes time away from the instruction of the early school-leavers in other subjects, which may prove costly in terms of the whole country's economic development.

This is the reasoning behind much vernacular education in the early primary grades, and perhaps also behind the delay of world-language instruction until secondary school in some of the countries where the world languages are used only in higher education. It is sound reasoning, but seldom is it carried far enough.

2. *The compression factor*

Closely related to the cost advantages inherent in the attrition rate are the economies made possible by compression of language instruction into a relatively short period of time. This applies in the particular case where a language must be learned in language courses alone, and not where the same language is used as a medium of instruction in other subjects. Although exact equivalences cannot be stated, 100 hours of unreinforced instruction in a new language compressed into a single month is obviously more effective than the same 100 hours spread out over five years. Consequently, the delaying of language instruction as long as possible provides the opportunity for the further economy of giving fewer hours of instruction to achieve the same results. Unfortunately, the nature of the academic curriculum, as it is now conceived, usually precludes the possibility of any real compression; a possible exception is the pre-secondary French 'remedial grade 6' given in Laos (see Chapter VIII, Section D), which was not, however, established for the sake of economy.

3. *Teachers*

The question of the costs of teaching staff, even in the restricted area of language, is too complex to be considered in detail here. It involves general teachers in different language media, generalists as language instructors, and specialists in language instruction. The principal considerations are as follows:

1. The specialist in language teaching does a better (hence less costly) job than the generalist who teaches language among other subjects, but his salary is apt to be higher.
2. The generalist does a better (hence less costly) job of language teaching when he conducts a general course in that language medium than when he conducts a language course as such.
3. The native speaker, whether specialist or generalist, does a better job of teaching language than the non-native speaker, but his salary is apt to be higher.
4. The generalist who teaches in a world-language medium is higher paid than his counterpart in the national-language medium; the latter slightly higher paid than the vernacular-medium generalist.
5. The specialist in non-linguistic subjects is much more costly to the educational system when he teaches in a world language than when he teaches in the national language; this cost differential is nowhere more clear than in the case of the expatriate professor in higher education.
6. In higher education, all staff costs are proportionately higher, and quality of instruction is a financially imponderable factor.

4. *Text materials*

The initial costs of developing new basic text materials in the national language, where none previously existed, are always greater than the purchase price of comparable materials in a world language. This holds true whether text production is done by translation or by new creation. From a qualitative point of view, the world-language texts are nearly always better, coming as they do from a competitive market and being built on a long tradition of experience and use, than the initial efforts at new text preparation in the national language.

In the long run, however, it is indisputable that national-language texts can be produced and distributed more cheaply than their foreign equivalents. This contention is borne out by actual price comparison in such countries as Thailand which have had a sufficiently long period of local text development to make the comparison possible. The question of the relative quality of the two types of materials is not easy to answer, since a direct response to requirements of specific academic syllabuses is involved.

The same observations apply to basic tests in vernacular (as opposed to national) languages, to the degree that the vernacular school population is numerically significant.

5. *Library facilities*

The observations above hold true only for basic texts, including those used in most higher-education disciplines. They do not hold true for reference works, library stock (especially in the humanities), professional journals, general periodicals and bibliographical materials. The cost of establishing, in any national language of South-East Asia, library facilities equivalent to those to be found in French, English, Russian, German or Chinese is quite impossible to estimate. Even for such languages as Japanese, Portuguese, Dutch, or Italian the comparison is not readily made.

6. *Other factors*

Some hidden cost factors, indirectly related to language-policy planning and execution but not included in the above categories, are the following: (a) manpower needs of the country; (b) cost of retraining graduates of an older educational system based on a different language policy (e.g., Malaysia), especially teachers; (c) miscellaneous non-academic but internal considerations, such as the placating of minority groups through costly language policies in order to avoid expenditures in other areas (e.g., military expenditures); (d) foreign-affairs considerations, especially in small countries where a sizeable proportion of the population is in contact with exterior elements (e.g., Laos).

7. *Summary*

Other things being equal, the following solutions to language-policy problems appear to be the most economical:

1. When unfamiliar languages are to be taught by means of language courses only, the language instruction should be delayed as long as possible, being given just before the objective for which they are designed (e.g., general instruction in a new medium) comes into play. This takes maximum advantage of both the attrition rate and the compression factor.
2. When unfamiliar languages are to be taught for an extended period with simultaneous reinforcement from other subjects in the same medium, unless specialists in language teaching are available at the same salary rate as the generalists who are teaching the other courses, it is advisable to drop the language courses entirely from the curriculum (or prepare the students as above). In this situation, the students will learn the language anyway, without formal instruction.
3. Native speakers of unfamiliar languages, if in short supply, are best utilized in language-teaching activities, including direct instruction, supervision, teacher training and text preparation, rather than as teachers of other subjects in that language medium.

4. General subjects should be taught in the language medium in which the potential supply of general teachers is greatest, whether this be a vernacular, the national language or a foreign language. If basic textbooks are lacking in the appropriate medium, the highest priority must be placed on their production.
5. A large initial outlay required to produce new basic text materials will later be recouped, provided the language in question is spoken by a real majority of pupils in the schools affected, and at the levels involved. This applies to vernacular materials as well as to national-language material. It does not apply to library material of any kind.
6. The relatively high cost of higher education in any language medium makes the selection of specialists, texts, language of instruction and examination very much a matter of individual cases. Apparent economies achieved by applying the conclusions listed above to the university situation may be more than offset by inferior results. The only generalization possible is that, wherever both basic texts and staff capable of teaching in the medium used in secondary schools are available, instruction will be cheaper in that medium, for the simple reason that more students will be able to understand the subject matter.
7. Language instruction in a completely new language which begins at the higher-education level is a waste of time and money if the new language is intended as a partial means of instruction in general subjects. At this stage it is already too late for the university student to acquire the kind of proficiency which will be really useful to him in other subjects, especially if he is expected to pursue the other subjects concurrently. In other words, conclusion 2 above has no direct application to the university situation.

E. RESEARCH NEEDS

The conclusions presented in the preceding section need not be taken on faith, or accepted as instant truths, by officials responsible for language-policy planning and execution, or by interested persons. Nor are they recommendations for future action. They are simply generalizations based on an over-all view of the regional situation. It is readily conceded that each country has its own particular problems and limiting conditions. But the conclusions are designed as reasonable starting points for research of both the operational and theoretical kind, offered in the belief that changes in language policy or its manner of execution should come only as a result of such research. Even if the results should merely confirm the wisdom of existing practices, that confirmation in itself is of value.

Specifically, the kinds of research most needed fall under three headings: pilot school projects, testing programmes, and linguistic research. (Many countries have already taken steps in one or more of these directions, and these programmes are reported, where known, in the individual country chapters that follow.)

1. *Pilot school projects*

Most general conclusions, such as the ones in this report, and observations of experienced educators in individual cases, can be tested simply enough in controlled experiments involving parallel schools or even parallel classes within the same school, for periods of one to five years, depending on the complexity of the research. Limiting the factors of the learning process to specific alternatives is not an easy task, but some of the following types of experiments have been conducted in various countries of the world with reasonable control:

1. Offering the same number of hours of language instruction to comparable groups, with the same teachers and text materials, over short and long time-periods (e.g., one month versus one year).
2. Varying the time of introduction to comparable groups of the same language course (e.g., first grade versus third grade—actually done in the Philippines; see Chapter X).
3. Offering a language course with identical text materials to comparable groups, but with differently trained teachers and methodology.
4. Testing different sets of text materials against each other under controlled conditions.
5. Dropping the language course entirely for one group of students, when the instruction in other subjects is in the language to be learned.
6. Offering parallel courses in non-linguistic subjects in two different language media to comparable groups of students in a controlled situation (partially done in Burma in the 1950s; see Chapter V, Section A.1).
7. Teaching language through general subjects, by teaching a given lesson first in the national language and then in the world language, for one group, and in the reverse order for a second group, with a third control group taught in the usual way (language instruction separated from other subjects).

2. *Testing programmes*

For pilot school experiments to be evaluated in a sensible way, testing techniques must be carefully established. In a few instances the standard school examinations will be found adequate for the purpose, but most experiments will require special proficiency examinations. The advantages of using a type of language test not tied to a particular syllabus are numerous; the same tests can be used, for example, in placing and admitting students whose previous school background is different from the educational system they are entering.

Perhaps the most immediately fruitful area for the development of new testing techniques, however, is the whole field of oral language examinations, whether of the proficiency or the achievement type. In a typical country, the simultaneous administration of oral examinations to large numbers of students (e.g., graduating classes all over the nation) will require careful planning and the use of recording equipment, so that individual performance can be evaluated at leisure. A peripheral advantage of electronically recorded oral tests is that they can be saved, and the results compared for successive years or for widely separated geographical areas. The applications of this advantage to the type of research described in the preceding section are obvious.

Because of the difficulty in programming proficiency tests to be administered *en masse*, however, it is likely that language examinations in general educational use will continue to be of the achievement type for some time to come. Aside from the development of new progress-testing techniques, useful research can eventually be instituted in the areas of aptitude measurement and motivation of students as well. Until these important variables in the language-learning situation can be controlled, results of experiments like those described above will be valid only for groups of students, and not for individuals. They will be nonetheless useful in language-policy planning and execution.

3. *Linguistic research*

Research of the theoretical kind which may be expected to have ultimate applications to real problems of the educational systems, or of the countries as a whole, will be largely confined to the national languages and vernaculars. The specific kinds of linguistic research and the problems to which they may apply are listed below:

1. Description in detail of the structure of a national language can be expected to improve instruction in it, especially to non-native speakers. Accurate description of its sound system alone will promote literacy among its native speakers, whether in school or not.
2. Accurate description of the structure of a vernacular will nearly always facilitate the preparation of school textbooks which teach literacy. If the vernacular does not already have a literary tradition, it will also facilitate the preparation of textbooks on general subjects.
3. Methodical comparison of dialects of any language used in the schools can be used to guide teachers who must inculcate a single standard dialect and to help formulate general policy in such areas as the communications network.
4. Comparison of related but mutually unintelligible languages spoken within the same country can have a direct bearing on educational-policy planning, as it already has had in Indonesia and the Philippines, when one of the languages is the national language.

F. NEW SOLUTIONS TO OLD PROBLEMS

In the preceding sections we have outlined future trends in national-language policy and its execution, regional and international communication, national-language development, related educational costs and necessary research. If developments actually take place more or less along the lines indicated, we can expect to see more and more of certain specific solutions to present language problems in the educational systems of the eight countries involved. These might be summarized as follows:

1. National languages will eventually achieve total acceptance among the people of each country. They will be propagated chiefly through the educational systems and communications media.
2. The principal medium of instruction in education will be the national language in every country. In some countries it will be supplemented by vernaculars in the very early grades, and in most countries by world languages in higher education, for many years to come.
3. World languages will continue to be used as research tools in higher education, and for outside communication, no matter what the other aspects of language policy may be. If only one world language is so used, it is likely to be English.
4. The larger regional languages will assume some kind of role in education, at first only as optional subjects, but perhaps eventually as widely used tools of research and communication.
5. Some kind of second-language teaching will always be a component of the educational system. The second language may be the national language, or a world language, or a regional language.
6. When a second language must be taught as a new medium of instruction early in the educational system, it will probably be consciously taught through the medium of general subjects, perhaps by repeating each lesson first in the familiar language then immediately in the new language. When second-language courses as such are offered at this level, they will be taught by specialists, and will concentrate on structure of the spoken language and literacy in the written language, not vocabulary.
7. When second-language instruction can be delayed until late in the educational system (as in the case of preparation of students in a world language for higher-education purposes), it will probably be removed from the general curriculum entirely, and taught intensively by specialists in programmes specifically designed for the purpose. Such a programme might consist of six months to a year of full-time pre-university language training, or be spread out over several years of extra-curricular sessions, for example after hours or on week-ends.
8. Courses in foreign literature and culture will be taught only to students specializing in those subjects.

V. Burma

A. THE POLICY

1. *History*

Although the general language policy of the Union of Burma has actually changed but little since Independence, the educational policy with regard to language has undergone almost annual shifts, and is obviously still in the process of crystallizing even at the present time. As far as the non-academic sector is concerned, however, the country still faces the outside world in English, administers itself in Burmese as much as possible, but tolerates and even encourages some of the larger vernacular languages within its borders.

The school system is something else again. Under the British colonial *régime,* there were three language categories of primary schools, two of secondary schools, and only one university, in which the medium was entirely English. The primary schools were labelled, according to the language medium, as 'English', 'Anglo-Vernacular' and 'Vernacular', the last category being a dead-end system. The term 'Vernacular' in both school categories meant either Burmese or the local minority language. The Anglo-Vernacular schools, situated in the larger towns, introduced English at the primary level as a language subject; the actual medium of instruction became English only at some point in the secondary level. The English schools used that medium throughout, and constituted the only really effective path to higher education, which was entirely in English.

During the Japanese occupation, the three categories of schools were reduced to one: Burmese medium. Neither English nor Japanese was taught as a compulsory course; this policy represented a compromise between the Ministry of Education and the military authorities. In actual practice, however, both English and non-Burmese vernaculars continued to be used as media of instruction in some schools, instead of the officially approved national language.

Immediately after the war, moves were made to change educational policy more permanently. An Educational Policy Inquiry Committee, established in 1946, recommended Burmese as the medium of instruction in all schools, to take effect as soon as possible. There was nearly unanimous opinion of the committee that English should be introduced as a required language course starting with middle school (fifth form). Certain concessions were made to the vernaculars in primary education, 'to ease the difficulties which indigenous races other than the Burmans may have to contend with', but vernaculars in the middle and high schools were to be phased out and replaced with the national language within five years.

There was considerable opposition to the recommendations of the policy inquiry committee, the main counter-argument being that such a late introduction of English would result in many failures in university matriculation examinations, in which proficiency in English was a crucial factor. Nevertheless, after Burma achieved its independence in 1948, the recommendations were adopted in principle, and actually began taking effect by 1950. The expected failures in English did occur, on a rather alarming scale, but some unexpectedly encouraging results materialized in other areas. The new policy meant, in effect, the extension of the old 'Vernacular' category through the secondary-school level, and by 1955 the Octennial Report on Education in Burma (1947-55) was able to compare results in all three categories, since some English and Anglo-Vernacular secondary schools had been allowed to continue, especially in the private sector.

The Octennial Report states that, in spite of superior staff, textbooks, buildings and equipment, the performance of Anglo-Vernacular students in the general (i.e., non-language) subjects was definitely inferior to that of Vernacular students, based on results of the matriculation examinations of 1955. The performance of English-school students was still better than that of the Vernacular students but, the report points out, not as much better as it should have been considering the difference in facilities. The conclusion drawn is that since both of the superior groups had in common the advantage of studying general subjects in their own language (90 per cent of the enrolment of the English-medium schools having come from English-speaking homes), this advantage must have been the determining factor in the situation.

In the years 1955 to the present, many new experiments have been tried and new policies formulated. The principal changes have come in the areas of the purpose and nature of English teaching, the medium of instruction in the university itself, the treatment of the minority language groups in education (vernacular education in our sense), and the addition of other languages besides English. The third educational four-year plan (for 1961-65) already contains references to the need for a different emphasis on English-teaching problems, and also what is probably the first statement of the policy that the future medium of instruction in the university is to be Burmese. In the meantime, political developments within the country and increasing chaos in the system of higher education in general finally resulted in a total closing of the universities, which only re-opened in late 1964 after the promulgation of a new Higher Education Law by the Revolutionary Council in May of that year.

2. *The present situation*

The Higher Education Law of 1964 is rather vague on the subject of language policy, and has not been in force long enough to give any clear indication of its effects on educational-language practice.[1] That the whole system of higher education has been drastically reorganized, there can be no doubt. As far as the University of Rangoon is concerned, at least, general courses are currently being offered in both Burmese and English media of instruction (see Section F.2 below for list), and in one subject there is an actual choice of medium. English is also a compulsory course for first-year students at the universities of Rangoon and Mandalay, and in the first two years at three higher institutes. Other foreign languages offered in higher education, all optional, are French, German and Russian.

In public secondary schools, the medium of instruction is now entirely Burmese, although private English, Chinese and Indian (Tamil and Telugu) schools are known to use their own languages at least in part. In all schools, Burmese is a required language course. In the public schools, English is still offered from the fifth standard on, but is supposed to be optional. (In view of the new Higher Education Law's emphasis on university education for the gifted, however, it is probable that English is compulsory for those who are destined for the universities.) Beginning in 1966, matriculation examinations are to be answered entirely in Burmese, except for the English-language examination. At present, however, it is still impossible to gain university admission without writing other parts of the examination in English as well.

The medium of instruction in primary schools is also ostensibly Burmese, but in minority group areas it is almost certainly true that vernaculars are used, at least in the first two or three grades. Recent references in the press to special teacher-training programmes for these areas seem to contain evidence that the government, which has fluctuated between recognizing and not recognizing this state of affairs, is again recognizing it (see Section C, end). No foreign languages are offered or used as media of instruction at the primary level, except in Chinese, English and Indian private schools.

To sum up, it is apparently now possible for a Burmese-speaking student to get his entire education in that medium, including some kinds of post-secondary technical training, and without ever studying a foreign language of any kind. On the other hand, it is not yet possible to receive a university education without English. The present attitude is that the study of English must be entirely practical, since it is intended primarily as a research tool, and that it must be free from both foreign cultural content and undue grammatical analysis (see Section D.2 below).

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[1] First-hand observation of such effects by the consultant was not possible—see Introduction. Furthermore, the closed nature of present Burmese society makes the collection even of second-hand material a difficult enough matter.

As far as general language policy is concerned, there seems to have been little change: The government still conducts some of its internal business, publishes newspapers, and broadcasts in English; while urgently trying to establish the national language throughout the country, it still respects minority languages and cultures, and even encourages them.

3. *Special effects on education*

The effects of past language policy, both that of the British colonial period and that of the independent Burmese Government itself until recently, have been found unsatisfactory in different ways. Under the pre-war *régime*, the standard of English of university students was probably as high as that to be found anywhere in countries for which it was not a native language, and was certainly adequate for higher-education purposes and such professions as were open to Burmese graduates. As early as the 1946 Report of the Education Policy Inquiry Committee, however, it was pointed out that the prerequisite of this kind of performance, early introduction of English in primary school, was cheating large numbers of students out of their birthright, a good general education in their own language about their own culture. The English schools were good, but open only to a self-perpetuating clique of wealthy families and high-level bureaucrats.

The remedy for this illness, in turn, almost killed the patient. Introducing English only in middle schools did bring about some of the desired improvements at the primary level, but at the same time the standard of English proficiency fell so low that higher education was dealt a crushing blow. More important, there were no texts or trained teachers to continue Burmese-medium instruction even all the way through secondary school, and achievement in general subjects fell even further. In 1955, for example, there were 24,384 candidates for the matriculation examination; of these, only 5,513 passed in English; but of those who passed in English, nearly half (2,639) failed the rest of the examination.

The effects of the various policies introduced since 1955 have been mixed. Production of secondary texts picked up, more secondary teachers were trained and better results began to be achieved at that level. But the problem of English in higher education remained unsolved, and technical subjects at the upper levels, so crucial to the nation's development, could not be successfully taught in either medium; in Burmese, for lack of texts; in English, for lack of student proficiency. The effects of the most recent policy, represented in the Higher Education Act of 1964, of course, are still to be seen.

4. *The nature of the national language*

Burmese is an important member of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of languages (thought to be part of a larger grouping called Sino-Tibetan). With its sister dialect Arakanese, it is the largest single language of Burma, claiming about two-thirds of the population as native speakers. It is also related to the languages of some of the most vocal minority groups in the country, e.g., the Karens (see Section C, item 1, below). Burmese is a tonal language with a relatively large amount of affixation for a language of this type; its vocabulary contains a substantial proportion of Indic borrowings. It is written with a script of the Indic type, noticeably different, however, from those used in Cambodia, Laos and Thailand.

Burmese is not directly related to any other national language of South-East Asia. Its literature is about average for the national languages of the region, with nearly all contributions in the technical and scientific fields coming within the last ten or fifteen years.

B. THE INSTRUMENTS OF POLICY

Although Burma has the usual battery of agencies which help to carry out programmes in the field of language (see the corresponding section of Chapter III for a representative list), there are two types of agency which must bear the greatest burden in what appears to be current educational policy. These are the translation and new-text production agencies, the oldest of which is the Burma Translation Society, and the teacher-training facilities, which must produce competent teachers in the Burmese medium at all levels, including higher education.

1. *The Burma Translation Society and its successors*

These organizations have their origins in the Burma Book Society, founded in 1933 under British auspices, when it first began to be realized that something systematic had to be done about the production of Burmese literature, both for educational and general use. In 1939 a Translation Bureau was set up as part of the governmental machinery, but during the Japanese occupation translation work was carried on mainly by the Literary and Library Bureau of the Education Department, which by the end of the war had turned out eighty textbook manuscripts in Burmese. Attempts to revive the latter bureau in 1946 failed, however, because of lack of appropriations in the educational budget.

Under the leadership of U Nu, the Burma Translation Society itself was brought into being in April 1948, to fill this obvious gap. Like the original Book Society, it was only semi-official, and was supported by both public and private funds; professional contributions and organizational work came from both Burmese and English scholars. During the first seven years it embarked on no fewer than ten separate series of publications, in such fields as mass education, science, history, great books, Burmese culture and current events, popular pocket books, and even some higher education subjects; by 1955 it had produced over 5 million books (copies, not titles). A Burmese pictured encyclopaedia, to consist of fourteen volumes, was commissioned in 1949; four volumes have appeared so far. The society also co-operated with the official Directorate of Textbook Production, established in 1952, in the preparation and publishing of textbooks for primary, secondary, technical and vocational schools, teachers' manuals, and school library books. From 1948 to 1951 it also issued a monthly magazine, *Sarpaybeikman*. The society's other activities included the awarding of literary prizes, library training classes, evening classes in printing, adult education, lectures and discussion groups.

In its original form, the Burma Translation Society was governed by a fifteen-member council, with the Prime Minister as its president. The council appointed a Board of Specialists and a Project Committee to oversee the substantive work. The Board of Specialists included university department heads in the various subject fields, Burmese-language specialists, and a representation of government officials outside the educational and linguistic areas. There were also special committees to assist the staff in every academic, technical and administrative field e.g., committees for science, history, the encyclopaedia, the society's magazine, literary awards, library science, printing, lectures and shows, building, finance and distribution. The society had its own printing plant, but had to contract out some of its work to private firms in Rangoon. Aside from its income from the sale of books, it received occasional direct subsidies from the government; in recent times, at least, it also has received grants from private sources.

Although the society is apparently still in existence, surviving the widespread reorganization of education in 1964, it is undoubtedly more strictly controlled by the government than it previously was. Many of its functions, moreover, have been taken over at least partially by other government agencies. Among these are the aforementioned Directorate of Textbook Production and its successors, the Union of Burma Literary and Translation Commission, and the Translation and Publications Department of Rangoon University. In August 1964, announcement was made in the press of a new twenty-one-member textbook committee, with Col. Hla Han, Minister of Education and Health, at its head. The new committee was 'to review textbooks already prescribed and to prescribe appropriate textbooks', and will form subcommittees 'to edit, scrutinize, and compile' textbooks, in addition to prescribing them.[1] The use of the world 'compile' implies that the sub-committees, at least, will be engaged in the implementation of language policy in a very direct way.

2. *Teacher-training institutions*

Of almost equal importance with the need for textbooks in Burmese is the need for teachers capable of giving instruction in the Burmese medium. In pre-Independence days the 'Vernacular' teachers were nearly always products of the Vernacular stream itself; in many cases their education was barely in advance of the level of their students. Teachers in the English and Anglo-Vernacular schools, on the other hand, were usually products of a fairly good English-medium education. Perhaps the first institution for Burmese-medium teachers at the post-primary level was the State Training College for Teachers, established in Rangoon during the war, and re-opened in 1947. Since that time national-language teacher-training facilities have steadily been expanded, and this expansion at present seems to have reached the status of an explosion.

Lack of space prevents a detailed inventory here of the different kinds of teacher-training institutions at various levels, including those already in existence and those proposed under the new educational plans. Suffice it to say that the great majority of them are designed to produce instructors in the Burmese medium. Aside from the implications of recent language policy, the new emphasis on science and technical subjects creates greater demands in these fields than ever before. Besides lacking the appropriate texts, the educational system also lacks experience in teaching technical subjects in Burmese. Hence the major burden of implementing the programme must ultimately fall on the training institutions and on education departments of colleges and universities.

Not all teacher-training problems involve Burmese. The new plans also affect the teaching of English and the vernaculars. English courses are to be taught with radically different emphasis (see Section D.2 below), and this means retraining of English teachers. So far as the vernaculars are concerned, the opening of a number of new programmes for the training of teachers in minority areas undoubtedly reflects a significant change in practical approach, if not in policy itself (see below and Section E.1).

C. ETHNIC GROUPS AND MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION

There has been no published official census of Burma giving either ethnic or first-language information about the population since 1931. By comparison of various estimates,[1] and projection of the figures to 1964 on the assumption of equal population growth for all ethnic groups, the following rough estimate of numbers of native speakers for the important language families and languages of Burma is possible (the population figure for the whole country, from which percentages are computed, is assumed to be 22.5 million):

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[1] Quotations are from the *Guardian*, 2 August 1964.

1. The Tibeto-Burman sub-family of languages, of which Burmese is an important member, accounts for at least 18.5 million speakers, or about 82 per cent of the total population. Of these only about 15 million, or two-thirds of the population, are speakers of Burmese itself (including the dialect called Arakanese, for which separate figures are given by some writers). Other important languages of the sub-family are Karen, with about 2 million speakers, Chin and Kachin, each with about a half a million. Of the smaller members, such as Lisu, Lahu and Akha, probably none has as many as 100,000 speakers.
2. The Thai sub-family of languages is easily the second largest, with about 1.7 million speakers, or about 7.5 per cent of the population. Shan accounts for the great majority of Thai speakers, about 1.5 million; there are a number of numerically insignificant languages, including Thai/Lao itself.
3. The Mon-Khmer languages, represented in almost equal proportions by the Mon group and the Wa group, claim roughly a million speakers, or 4.5 per cent of the total (in the case of the Mon people, however, considerable assimilation to Burmese culture has taken place, and the figure of 0.5 million Mon speakers is an extremely shaky one). Other Mon-Khmer languages exist in great variety in Burma, as in the rest of South-East Asia, but no single one of the smaller languages claims as many as 50,000 speakers.
4. The Chinese languages account for about 400,000 speakers, or less than 2 per cent of the total. Hokkien (150,000) and Cantonese (90,000) are the leading representatives.
5. The Indo-European languages have about the same number of speakers as the Chinese family. Two languages of northern India, Hindi and Bengali, are the leaders, with English a distant third. Figures for all Indo-European speakers are suspect, however, since this is the group most affected by recent emigration from Burma.
6. The Dravidian family has about 350,000 speakers, or 1.5 per cent of the total. The principal representatives are Tamil and Telugu.

Thus Burmese, although it is spoken natively by only about two-thirds of the population, has a clear lead over any other single language. Its nearest competitor is probably Karen, which is a member of the same family, although mutually unintelligible with Burmese.

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[1] Principally the following two: Lebar, Hickey and Musgrave, *Ethnic Groups of Mainland South-East Asia*, New Haven, HRAF Press, 1964; and the Soviet publication, S. I. Bruk (ed.), *Cislennostj i Rasselenie Narodov Mira*, Moscow, Akademia Nauk, 1962.

The medium of instruction in the great majority of primary schools, in all public secondary schools, and in some higher-education courses (see Section F.2 below) is Burmese. English is used in the remainder of the higher-education subjects, and in private primary and secondary education. Chinese private schools, which until 1964 enjoyed the highest degree of freedom from governmental control of any Chinese system in the region, presumably still teach in the official medium of Mandarin, with assistance from such languages as Cantonese and Hokkien as needed (see description of general Chinese practice in corresponding section of Chapter III). A few Indian schools use Tamil or Telugu as the medium of instruction in the primary grades.

The situation with regard to the public vernacular (i.e., non-Burmese) primary schools is still something of a mystery. Since about 1953, the emphasis in minority areas had been on teaching non-Burmese children their own languages and cultures as special subjects, as if it was necessary to do so in order to keep them from disappearing. The corollary assumption was that the teaching of general subjects would actually, and not merely theoretically, be done in Burmese. This policy may have stemmed from experience with the Mon schools, where it presumably worked. The Mon schools are the oldest of the postwar (i.e., non-'Vernacular') vernacular schools: special courses for Mon teachers began in 1953 at the training colleges in Rangoon and Moulmein, and by 1955 there were 107 Mon schools. But since most Mon pupils are already partly or wholly assimilated to Burmese culture, and in this respect quite different from other minority groups, the system was not necessarily extendable to other areas.

At present, there is evidence that in the following cases public education is conducted in the vernacular medium for at least the first two or three grades: Karen, Shan, Chin and Kachin. There may be other cases as well.

Special teacher-training programmes, at any rate, were instituted in 1964 for teachers in the four language media listed above.

D. LANGUAGE COURSES AND THEIR OBJECTIVES

1. *Burmese*

In the case where the national language must be taught to pupils who do not already speak it, Burmese-language courses tend to be almost exact parallels of the (now-discredited) English courses. That is to say, the curriculum is loaded with content which has nothing to do with the basic skills of reading, writing, speaking and understanding. These non-linguistic elements are literary, social, historical and even political. The linguistic elements, on the other hand, are weighted toward analysis, etymology and stylistics, rather than toward practical experience with the language under guidance. Vernacular speakers learn the new language anyway, as Burmans did under the old English system, since they have to use it in all their subjects every day.

For native speakers, the Burmese-language courses dispose of the necessary task of teaching literacy within two or three years, and can then devote full time to standardization of speech habits and the kind of indoctrination described above. In the case of Arakanese dialect speakers, the standardization process may go on for some time. For all groups of learners, in short, Burmese is much more an academic course than a tool course.

2. *English*

English is still taught only from middle (secondary) school onward, which means that a student gets at the most five years of instruction in the language that he will have to use if he goes on to higher education. The former purposes for teaching English, which during the time when people studied it for up to ten years, were extremely broad and included analytical, cultural and literary elements, have been thoroughly rejected. As early as 1950, the expectation that English would be the only gateway to higher academic, technical and research studies began to be cited as the main reason for its limited study. It was widely thought that this kind of practical objective would justify the reduction in time of instruction. When this assumption proved to be unwarranted in practice, the finger began to be pointed at the method of teaching, the lack of qualified teachers and so forth.

That this turmoil is still going on is clear from a recent editorial in a government newspaper, which accuses the English teachers of having preserved the old colonial methods and attitudes in their teaching. This editorial formulates the proper attitude in part as follows: 'The emphasis will henceforth be laid upon the functional uses of the language rather than its grammar. The objective will be to achieve tractability [*sic*] of the language as an instrument leading to the comprehension of functional English texts of other subjects, for instance medicine, engineering or economics. Toward that purpose classwork will be based to a large extent upon extracts out of journals, magazines and books.'[1] The objective, of course, has always been exactly the one cited. The method of attaining this objective recommended by the editorial seems to be simply a restatement of the common belief (rejected by our assumptions, Chapter I) that comprehension of a new oral and written language can be achieved without learning to speak it. In other words, the failure of Burmese students to learn English is not due to poorly planned texts, teachers incompetent in the language, or too little time, but to colonial thinking.

This belief is firmly echoed in a news story from the same paper, dated the same day,[1] which enunciates the policy for teaching English at the university level. It adds two other objectives, however, which inadvertently illuminate the general language situation in Burma: 'The teaching of English language at university level is to be put on a functional basis. . . . University students will be taught English for the purpose of enabling them (i) to understand English as spoken by a Burman; (ii) to converse in English with other Burmans; (iii) to comprehend what is written in reference books prescribed in the teaching of other subjects; and (iv) to avoid very obvious mistakes.' In other words, English is still a lingua franca in Burma, at least in intellectual circles, besides being needed for reading purposes.

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[1] *The Working People's Daily*, Rangoon, 15 August 1964.

As far as higher education is concerned, at any rate, English is required of all students for the first year at the universities of Rangoon and Mandalay, and for the first two years at the institutes of medicine, technology and economics. The typical English course will apparently consist of five one-hour periods per week. Students who major or minor in English, of course, are required to take additional courses, some of which are clearly remedial in character.

Secondary-school courses in the language are labelled as optional English or compulsory English. It is not clear which categories of students exercise the option. Both types of subject are examinable in English on the matriculation examinations. Whatever the character and degree of optionality of these courses, the new language policy in higher education makes it clear that they are not doing their job.

3. *Vernacular languages*

In the public schools of the greatest ethnic concentrations of minority groups, such languages as Mon, Karen, Shan, Chin and Kachin are taught. even beyond the point where they may have ceased to be media of instruction in these schools. The initial purpose of such instruction is literacy in a language which the majority of pupils already speak; the reason for continuing the language courses is, at least in the case of Mon, 'to prevent the dying out of regional cultures'. (In the case of the other vernaculars, there appears to be no imminent danger of this happening.) A few of the vernaculars will probably eventually appear, in some form, in the higher-education curriculum as well.

4. *World languages*

World languages, other than English, are apparently offered only in the higher-education institutions. Those at present being taught are French, German, Japanese and Russian The last is the most recent addition to the curriculum, and in recent years, according to reports, the most heavily subscribed; the Russian programme has recently been moved to the Foreign Language Institute, which accepts non-university students as well. The purpose of studying the three world languages, like that of English, is to develop a research tool, especially in the scientific and technological fields. There is also a possibility of their being used as a medium of instruction in special cases, as for example when non-English speaking expatriates teach in the higher institutions. There are plans to offer Mandarin, now taught only in Chinese private schools, as an additional world language.

E. LANGUAGE-TEACHING RESOURCES

1. *Teachers: training and supervision*

The supply of potential teachers of Burmese is reasonably large, and given the present objectives in teaching Burmese their training is adequate. In connexion with the vernacular schools, however, there is an obvious need for generalists who can teach Burmese to non-native speakers in the primary grades, before it becomes the total medium of instruction. Since the qualifications for general teachers, even in the vernacular schools, involve considerable proficiency in the national language, their training needs lie more in the direction of methodology than of content. It is possible that the new programmes for vernacular teachers instituted in 1964 are already taking these needs into account.

The situation is totally different with regard to teachers of English. Since the five-year English secondary curriculum came into effect over fourteen years ago, the supply of competent English speakers and readers in general has steadily dwindled. The generation of Burmans who underwent education entirely in English, moreover, is now on the whole too old (and too valuable in other respects) to accept positions as English-teaching specialists in secondary schools, particularly in remote areas. Thus the decline in English proficiency seems destined to continue in a sort of arithmetical progression unless emergency measures, either in the form of outside help or radically new concepts of teaching, are brought into play. The virtual closing of the country to foreign influences does not indicate much hope for the former solution, nor recent policy statements for the latter. It is clear that English specialists need training in the content of their subjects, but by no means clear how they are going to get it.

In the past, language teachers received their training for the secondary level in the Faculty of Education of the University of Rangoon or in the State training colleges at Rangoon and Mandalay; for the primary level in the colleges or in four provincial teacher-training institutes. This system has now been greatly expanded, and there are new programmes for both Burmese and English specialists, and possibly even for vernacular-language teachers. The English instruction to be given in the universities under the new plan has also given rise to an in-service training course, to be conducted by the English Department at Rangoon University. If all these programmes are really based on the new objectives, however, content training of English teachers is still an unsolved problem.

Supervision of language teaching in the larger population centres has always been carefully done, inasmuch as the top levels of government have taken a special interest in the subject. But supervision of any kind in the rural areas, because of transportation and communication conditions, is a very questionable matter.

2. *Texts and aids*

At present the principal texts used for the teaching of English in secondary schools are from the New Method Reader series, published by the Oxford University Press. The content of this series conforms to the new objectives of English teaching, but has the disadvantage of coming from outside Burma. A new series of textbooks, called the Tutorial Series for Public Schools, is said to be in preparation under government sponsorship. As far as university English courses are concerned, the only material for actual instruction, according to the new plan, will consist of excerpts from current publications. There is a textbook prescribed for reference purposes only, *The Oxford Progressive English Course for Adult Learners,* by A. S. Hornby.

National-language and vernacular materials are all produced within the country. In both categories the cultural and literary content is rather high after the first few grades. Since there is little emphasis on any spoken language in the educational system (including English), audio-visual aids, such as tape recorders and the like, are scarcely used.

3. *Testing*

The new philosophy about language learning will certainly be reflected in the pattern of language examinations. If one of the main objectives of learning English, for example, is 'the comprehension of functional English texts' then this is a skill which must be tested. According to the new Higher Education Law, in fact, from 1966 onwards the only part of the matriculation examination which must be written in English is the compulsory English or optional English component. Since testing in other subjects in the English medium is to be dropped, the only remaining test of proficiency in writing the language will have been eliminated. Unless some kind of oral test is introduced to check the ability 'to converse in English with other Burmans', moreover, proficiency in speaking will also go unevaluated. The most likely kind of future language examination would seem to be reading comprehension achievement tests.

F. EFFECTS ON NON-LANGUAGE SUBJECTS

1. *Student enrolment*

One of the announced aims of the 1964 Higher Education Law, quite apart from matters of language policy, is to restrict admission to the high-level institutions to the highly gifted hard-working student. As early as 1962, the Revolutionary Council declared as its general policy that higher education should benefit 'only those who have promise and enough potentialities and industriousness'. When the institutions of higher education were about to re-open in November 1964, the publication of specific student quotas by institution in the newspapers actually bore out this policy; for example, the Arts and Sciences University of Mandalay was limited to 300 students (135 arts, 165 science).[1] Widespread competitive examinations for the limited places in higher education were held all over the country in August and September of that year; it is significant that candidates who had failed previous examinations of other kinds, including English-medium examinations, were not ruled out of the competition.

It is of course too early to determine the effects of the newest language policy and its current interpretation. As far as the effects of recent language practice are concerned, it is clear that those who have done poor work in English in the past five years are not going to be penalized for that reason alone. Those students who have done well in general subjects, especially mathematics and science, are going to be given every opportunity to learn English in the university itself. Since the medium of instruction in secondary-level general subjects is entirely Burmese, however, there may still be some adverse reaction on the prospects of minority-group students who have not had the advantage of effective instruction in the national language. To put it another way, the Burmese Government is now moving toward an exact parallel of the detested Anglo-Vernacular and English school distinction of colonial days, with minority-group students in the former position of the Burmans, and the Burmans occupying the seat of the English. If the time comes when the medium of instruction in higher education is entirely Burmese, the parallel will then be complete.

2. *University courses*

To assess the extent of replacement of English by Burmese in higher education, in response to a desire enunciated as early as 1955 which became actual policy about 1960, let us simply compare a sample of non-language course offerings in both language media in the universities (Rangoon and Mandalay) for the current year:

Burmese medium: modern history, Far Eastern history, ancient history, geography, public administration, logic, Burmese history, home economics, social science.

English medium: economics, business administration, mathematics, logic, physics, chemistry, botany, zoology, engineering courses, medical courses, agriculture, textile engineering, sanitary engineering.

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[1] *The Guardian*, 16 August 1964.

Note that one subject, logic, is offered in both media, which implies that Burmese university students may have an actual choice of language 'track' in other subjects in the future. At present, because of curriculum requirements in the various departments, it is impossible for a university student to select any field of specialization which would allow him to go through higher education in a single-language medium, be it Burmese or English.

The most significant aspect of the above list, however, is that all scientific and technical instruction, the area singled out by the new Higher Education Law to receive primary emphasis, is still given in English. The reasons for this have partly to do with the lack of professional staff, and partly with the lack of textbooks.

3. *Teaching staff*

The effect of educational-language policy on the development of teachers of non-language subjects in the secondary schools is bound to be advantageous in the long run, although temporary deficiencies could occur, especially when new subjects are added to the curriculum. The supply of Burmese-medium teachers is already adequate for the primary schools, and there is apparently some reason for optimism about vernacular-medium staff as well. It is only in the area of higher education, then, that real problems of professional staff occur (leaving aside the question of language instruction).

The general attitude of the Burmese Government towards foreign influences has already caused the departure of nearly all the expatriate professors who formerly taught university subjects in the English medium.[1] The result is that university and other higher-education faculty posts are now overwhelmingly staffed by Burmese citizens. The fact that most university subjects, as we have seen above, are still taught in English implies either one or both of two possibilities: (a) that the supply of textbooks in Burmese for certain subjects at this level is still inadequate or (b) that professional staff teaching these subjects, although Burmese citizens, are incapable of teaching them in Burmese. The first possibility certainly has a plausible sound to it, but recent progress in high-level text production (see below) and the brand-new language-learning objective of 'understanding English as spoken by a Burman' lend a certain amount of credence to the second possibility, which may well be the critical one.

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[1] There are, however, Soviet professors at the Rangoon Institute of Technology. They teach in Russian, which is then interpreted into Burmese.

4. *Texts*

The past history of the development of Burmese textbooks on non-linguistic subjects has already been traced in a preceding section, in connexion with the Burma Translation Society and its academic successors (see Section B.1 above). The primary emphasis on new production of texts has now reached the higher-education level, with the physical sciences having top priority. Following is a list of titles in the scientific field, seven in university physics and three in chemistry, announced during the past year:[1] heat and thermodynamics, part I; physical optics; alternating current and fundamentals of electronics; sound and wave motion; mechanics and properties of matter; differential calculus, part I; university second year practical physics; practical chemistry; general chemistry; elementary organic chemistry. (According to reports of early 1965, however, physics and chemistry, like all other natural sciences, were still being taught in English at the universities.) Many more new higher-education texts have recently appeared in the humanities, particularly in the field of Burmese literature (i.e., *belles lettres*).

5. *Library facilities*

The library of the University of Rangoon, which housed a large collection of Burmese and Oriental literature, was dynamited by the Japanese on the eve of their departure from the city in 1945. From the 40,000-volume Judson College library, largely English-language stock, only some 12,000 volumes were recovered after the war. Only the Bernard Free Library, with 24,000 volumes including Burmese manuscripts and rare books, survived the Japanese occupation. Thus Burma began the post-war period with a decided handicap in library facilities. Book donations from the United Kingdom, the United States and international organizations have since augmented the supply of English-language materials, but there could be no comparable replacement of the peculiarly national stock of non-English materials.

The beginnings of a national library were made in the late 1940s with the shift of surviving books to the government secretarial building, in the change of the Education Department. School and university libraries during the 1950s had for the most part meagre collections of text materials, the great bulk of them in English; these books came to be used less and less as the ability to read English diminished. The National Library, as such, was actually founded in 1952, with a selection of nearly 9,000 books from the Bernard Free Library, which by now have been augmented to 50,000. The present collection includes some 6,000 titles in Burmese and other indigenous languages, and 1,500 titles which concern Burma exclusively. The National Library was to have been moved to new accommodation in the City Hall in Rangoon at the end of 1964, with a reading-room open to the general public on the second floor, equipped with journals and periodicals.

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[1] From *The Working People's Daily*, Rangoon, 30 October 1964.

Thus the great majority of library stock resources are still in the English language. The effect of present educational policy can only be to make these resources less and less accessible.

VI. Cambodia

A. THE POLICY

1. *History—the official view*

Article 2 of the latest revision of the Constitution of Cambodia (1962) states simply that the language of the kingdom is the Khmer language. Until Independence (1953), the language policy of the country was that set by the French administration for all of Indo-China; which meant that French was used for nearly all official purposes except extremely local administration and limited types of vernacular education, where the language of the province (in the case of Cambodia, Khmer) was used instead. Although the situation with regard to internal administration has changed drastically since Independence, the situation with regard to education has remained virtually the same up until the present day, with only the first three primary grades (12, 11 and 10) taught entirely in Khmer.

Policy in language matters, other than the basic policy, is often laid down by committees convened at the behest of the Chief of State (until 1955 the King), Norodom Sihanouk. The decisions are first promulgated through the communications media, notably the official Agence Khmère de Presse (AKP). Subsequent laws which are passed usually follow these recommendations so closely (although there may be a delay of three months or so before the laws appear in print) that the AKP announcement itself may safely be taken as a statement of policy.

The question of the use and teaching of foreign languages has stirred considerable controversy in the press and in the National Congress meetings from time to time. In the years 1960-61 the controversy became so heated that the Chief of State himself was forced to decide the issue. His position at that time was (and presumably still is) that the use of foreign-language media in the schools was a necessary precondition of full economic development of the country, and could not reasonably be abandoned. Although French is not always specifically cited, it receives the support of the Chief of State at least by implication.

More recently, however, the policy decisions have dealt much more with the spread and development of the national language than with foreign languages. In October 1964, for example, two announcements of committee proceedings on the subject of national literacy appeared (AKP, 11 October and 31 October). A programme for national literacy was scheduled for inception on 1 November 1964, with special materials provided by the government to be taught by volunteering officials, businessmen, clergy and others who were already literate, to those in their districts who were still illiterate. The specific objectives are for all citizens to be able to read, write, and do arithmetic in Khmer. The target date for 'nationals' to become 100 per cent literate is 31 December 1965; for 'resident foreigners' it is 31 December 1966. No mention of spoken Khmer was made in this particular recommendation.

At the present time, both from the point of view of law and of actual practice, French remains the primary language of international communication. It has no close competitors for this function in Cambodia. In the educational system, the use of Khmer as a medium of instruction is steadily pushing upward, but as yet it has not effectively left the primary level.

2. *History—the outside view*

Many of the ills of the present system of education in Cambodia can be directly laid to language policy as applied to education, first by the colonial power and later by the independent State. Chief among these ills are, on the one hand, the extreme difficulty of examinations and their heavy bias in favour of students whose knowledge of French is good; and on the other hand, the extreme difficulty of acquiring a good knowledge of French in the early years of public school. It is quite apparent that those who succeed in this endeavour are either exceptionally gifted children, or ones who had the advantage of superior opportunity, whether in public, religious or private schools, or in everyday life. It is also apparent that most knowledge of French is acquired simultaneously with other new information, i.e., in the general subjects, such as mathematics, history and geography, and not in the French-language classes themselves. The child who is unable to manage this double feat is effectively barred from further education.

In all other respects the general policy of maintaining Khmer as the national language and French as the language of wider communication is almost ideally suited to Cambodia. Linguistically homogeneous in character, but culturally oriented toward France, the country is one of the few in South-East Asia which does not have to use the national language issue to pull itself together. It already is together, and has no fears about a language of wider communication pulling it asunder. Despite this circumstance, there has been very slow progress in general education for the people since Independence. One can only conclude that the educational phase of the language policy is partly responsible.

That this is beginning to be realized by the government can be deduced from certain recent tendencies, both inside and outside the Ministry of Education. As this report is being written, six new universities are about to be created, in addition to the two which already exist. Of these six, four will be created by elevation in status of existing institutions, and two (to be located in Kompong Cham and Kompot) are to be completely new. Since, besides the usual problems of professional staffing and budgeting there are not nearly enough student candidates (qualified under the French system) to fill the new universities, it is fairly obvious that something will have to be done about standards, and this may involve language policy changes. But the announced medium of university instruction is still French, with the exception of the already existing Université Bouddhique.

Within the Ministry of Education and on the various councils concerned with education, there are clearly two factions, one favouring the extension of Khmer-medium instruction to the ultimate degree possible, and the other favouring the present system. It is quite possible that the final decision will have to be made by the Chief of State himself, but it is impossible to predict what that decision might be.

3. *The nature of the national language*

Khmer (or Cambodian, as it is sometimes called) is the most important modern survivor of the extensive Mon-Khmer family of languages. (If Vietnamese is also a member of this group, as some scholars believe, it is an atypical member, since it is a tone-language.) Present-day Mon-Khmer languages lie scattered through South-East Asia, from the islands of the Indian Ocean to the hills of Viet-Nam, but Khmer is the only one which has the status of a national language. It may represent a direct tradition from the speech of the Kings of Angkor.

The dialect base of standard spoken Khmer (used on the radio and in formal public address) is not entirely clear, but it is not that of the capital, Phnom-Penh. The approved written version corresponds closely to the standard spoken. The writing system is of the Indic type and is largely alphabetic, although there are more whole-syllable graphs than usually found in this type of system. Khmer is full of Indic loan-words in the religious and cultural fields, and modern administrative and technical terms are mostly from French; there is very little else borrowed from foreign sources, past or present. In fact, Khmer itself is a source of loan-words in Thai and other regional languages.

Although other Mon-Khmer languages exist within the borders of Cambodia, the mutual intelligibility of the Khmer dialects themselves is beyond question. The same applies to the speech of Kampuchea Kraom in South Viet-Nam and some of the Khmer communities in Thailand. The entire number of Khmer speakers in the modern world probably does not reach 6 million, but because of the extraordinary homogeneity of the speech community it is not only a strong national force but exerts considerable regional influence as well.

B. THE INSTRUMENTS OF POLICY

If the language policy as stated in the Constitution of Cambodia is taken literally, then the Ministry of Education is not an instrument of that policy, since it supervises the chief means of propagating French: the upper primary and secondary schools. In this sense of policy, it is rather such ministries as communications, agriculture and public works which are the real instruments, since most of their business is done in Khmer. On the opposite side with education are ranged the various ministries dealing with economic planning, commerce and foreign affairs.

Although there is no Royal Academy which concerns itself exclusively with matters of national-language development, there is a National Cultural Commission which supervises these functions. Its members come from the Ministry of Education, the institutions of higher education, the Buddhist clergy and various government departments. It is charged with the creation of new terminology, the correction of spelling and grammatical inconsistencies, and the general development of the national language. Among the tangible products of its sponsorship are dictionaries and school texts. No encyclopaedia or atlas projects have as yet been initiated, and the codification of Khmer grammar seems to have been left to independent French and Cambodian scholars.

The Ministry of Information acts as an instrument of language policy in a curious way, arising from practical necessity. It issues daily bulletins and other formal announcements through the various communications media. Since the primary target of the ministry's output is foreign rather than domestic, it is general practice to draft the information first in French, and then to translate the text into other languages, including Khmer. This means that new terminology must be invented nearly every day for the national-language version of the bulletins. Such is the power of the communications media that some of these neologisms, though at first incomprehensible to Khmer readers and listeners, recur often enough to be eventually accepted, and become part of the language. This phenomenon occurs more frequently in Cambodia than in other countries of South-East Asia with similar vocabulary problems.

The most important instrument of constitutional language policy, however, is an unofficial one: the Buddhist clergy. Although the pagoda schools are steadily declining, both in numbers of pupils and in importance, it is still the priest-scholars who make the greatest contribution to Khmer studies, and hence to the development of the national language. As far as the upper levels of education are concerned, priests provide the only Khmer-medium general instruction to be found in the public sector (outside the anomalous Lycée Khmèro-Anglais) in the Buddhist *lycée* and university. They are also contributing Khmer texts in subject areas where none existed before: e.g., chemistry and engineering.

In matters of day-to-day policy, constantly changing in detail but not in basic French emphasis, the committees appointed by the Chief of State are, without a doubt, the primary formulators of actual language policy, and the Ministry of Education the instrument of such policy.

Perhaps another indication of the need for reconsideration of general language policy is the tremendous imbalance between public and private secondary schools. The Office National de Planification de l'Education in its statistical bulletin of 1963-64 lists a total of 43,509 students in public secondary schools as against 21,897 in private secondary schools for the whole country. But in Phnom-Penh, where the best *collèges* and *lycées* are located, the private schools are ahead by 12,390 to 7,045. The total number of such schools is 71 public (7 in Phnom-Penh) and 102 private (41 in Phnom-Penh).

Although the private schools reflect in part the existence of vernacular-medium secondary education (Chinese and Vietnamese, in particular), they also include *collèges* and *lycées* where the medium of instruction is (actually, if not admittedly) Khmer. Many such institutions operate on a shoestring, with no permanent buildings; classes sometimes meet in the homes of professors. A few Khmer-medium secondary schools (including the Khmèro-Anglais) operate without any textbooks at all, and lecture notes are the only form of written substance used. Yet these schools must still be considered unofficial instruments of language policy, in that they are trying to do a job which the government schools are as yet unable to do.

C ETHNIC GROUPS AND MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION

The census of 1962 provides no breakdown by ethnic or first-language group, but estimates can be projected from earlier unofficial sources.[1]

First-language figures thus projected are found to correspond closely with the semi-official ethnic figures provided by the Cambodian Office of Tourism.

If we use a rounded-off population figure of 6 million for the entire country, about 5 million (83 per cent) are native speakers of the mutually intelligible Khmer dialects. Cambodia is hence one of the two most linguistically unified countries in the whole of South-East Asia (the other being South Viet-Nam). If we consider language families, instead of single languages, and assume further that Vietnamese is a Mon-Khmer language, the homogeneity is even more startling (over 90 per cent) (see Table 18).

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[1] The chief source is the HRAF handbook on Cambodia, by David J. Steinberg (revised edition, 1959, by Herbert H. Vreeland).

TABLE 18. Native speakers, first language, Cambodia

Language	Millions	
Mon-Khmer languages		
Cambodian (Khmer)	5.0	
Vietnamese	0.4	
Stieng, Kuoy, Pear, Saoch, etc.	0.1	
Total (Mon-Khmer)		5.5
Chinese languages		
Tiechiu	0.2	
Cantonese	0.06	
Hokkien	0.02	
Hakka, Hailam and others	0.02	
Total (Chinese)		0.3
Western Malayo-Polynesian languages		
Cham, Malay, Rhade, Jarai, etc.		0.1
Indo-European languages (mainly French and Indic languages)		0.1
GRAND TOTAL		6.0

Considered in the role of second language, Khmer probably still outranks French. Virtually the entire Chinese community speaks the national language to some extent, but only the upper classes and certain occupational groups have a good command of French. Of the other minorities, the Chams and Malays are much more likely to acquire Khmer as a second language than French. Only in the case of the Vietnamese is the situation reversed: a useful knowledge of Khmer is relatively rare compared to one of French. Of the other communities, the tribal groups are apt to know neither language well; the French and other European groups seldom learn Khmer; for the Indian groups the choice of second language depends largely on occupation, but most Indians know a little of both languages.

It might be expected, and in fact it is often assumed, that the secondary-education system would bring about a continuing increase in the numbers of speakers of French as a second language. But the situation is such that Cambodians who get far enough along in the French-medium educational system to have acquired a good knowledge of the language usually belong to occupational and social groups where the knowledge of French is already assumed. It becomes a case of counting their heads twice. The actual number is quite small compared to the total population, perhaps 5 per cent.

Vietnamese easily outranks all the Chinese languages as a second language in Cambodia. Of the Chinese group, Tiechiu is a second language for a small but influential group of people.

The medium of instruction in nearly all government schools is Cambodian throughout the primary system. French is introduced as a language course in the fourth year (ninth form) and gradually becomes the medium of instruction in mathematics. French continues to be taught as a subject and by the end of the primary school (seventh form) has become almost the exclusive medium for mathematics; it is used occasionally in other subjects as well. Beginning with the secondary system, French is the only official medium of instruction for all subjects except language courses and certain cultural subjects. This practice ostensibly continues through the *collèges*, the *lycées* (with the exception of the Lycée Bouddhique and the Lycée Khmèro-Anglais, where the medium is Khmer and the secondary language taught is English), and the existing Université Royale. Of the projected and existing universities, only the Bouddhique is to use the Khmer medium and stress English.

In the private primary and secondary schools the medium of instruction is either French or that of the ethnic group which founded the school. In all pagoda schools and many private institutions of both levels, this means Khmer. (Although in private secondary schools the announced 'medium of instruction' is French, this apparently refers to the texts used, not to the oral instruction method. In schools visited, the teachers spent most of the time explaining in Cambodian the meaning of the French text.) Vernacular schools using the Chinese (Mandarin) medium are numerous and powerful. Vietnamese schools are next in frequency, followed by a handful of English and other media schools.

All private institutions must not only conform to the regular syllabuses but must have their actual texts approved by the Ministry of Education, regardless of language medium. There are special sections dealing with pagoda-school matters, Chinese and Vietnamese vernacular schools. In the vernacular schools, there is a limit on the number of hours of foreign language that may be taught, but this apparently is interpreted to apply to courses in the language itself. Since such schools are not interested in preparing students for further education in Khmer schools, but in higher schools and universities where Chinese, French and Vietnamese are the medium of instruction, most of the preparatory instruction is in those languages. French-medium primary and all secondary schools normally use the prescribed official texts. Government schools which are not under the Ministry of Education (e.g., certain kinds of technical institutes) are expected to follow the general guide-lines wherever possible. The medium in such schools is also French. This includes several schools, centres, and institutes set up with the help of non-French-speaking foreign governments, such as the U.S.S.R., the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany.

D. LANGUAGE COURSES AND THEIR OBJECTIVES

1. *Khmer*

For nearly all students, the oral version of Khmer is not really taught at all, but assumed. As a result of the closely-knit dialect situation, standardization procedures are mainly in the area of correction of grammatical habits (to conform to a French-based notion of Cambodian grammar) rather than pronunciation habits. But for some primary-school children, including native speakers of the Phnom-Penh dialect who have not already been corrected by association with standard-language speakers, work on pronunciation is quite extensive. In general, however, since oral Khmer is to be the medium of instruction only for the first few years of primary school, relatively little attention is paid to it, as compared with oral French.

For the written standard language, however, instruction is intense and highly codified from the very beginning. Primary-school students not only learn to read and write; they learn to talk about reading and writing as well. Different classifications of vowels and consonants, rules of graphic convention, and rules of grammar of the written language must be memorized and recited on command. This kind of approach is steadily continued, and is extended to include the literary and cultural aspects of language from the upper primary grades onwards. By the time the secondary level is reached, five hours per week are still devoted to Khmer. Teaching is directed toward aesthetics, style, parts of speech and linguistic analysis, presentation of material composed by the student, the critical appreciation of material composed by others, and the history of the language. At this last stage Pali and Sanskrit are introduced, and these languages are actually studied by terminal students who take the classical option.

In private schools for non-native speakers, Khmer must be taught as a required subject for at least sixteen hours a week. For a few students in public schools it is a new medium of oral instruction. Since the materials are the same as the ones prescribed for native speakers, this puts a heavy burden on the teacher. The reinforcement of Khmer spoken outside the school seems to be sufficient, however, so that after the initial shock is over the learning process can proceed with a fair degree of success. There seems to be no tendency, in public-school Khmer instruction at least, to give special attention to vernacular groups within the country.

2. *French*

Cambodian students have their first introduction to French via the alphabet during the first year of upper primary (form 9). They learn the sounds of the letters by chanting words, strings of words, and short sentences in unison, then individually on demand. The next year (form 8) the Mauger conversational method is introduced in the French classes. This method also involves chanting, but of whole sentences in the question-and-answer context. The cultural content of the prescribed material is French-based, and includes concepts unfamiliar to most children. In the last year of primary school (form 7) students are able to do at least mathematics in the French medium, and other subjects partially so.

Those who continue on to secondary education apparently learn most of their French, in fact, in non-language courses, since French now becomes the main medium of instruction. The language courses themselves, being based on French secondary models, are not particularly helpful as tool courses. In fact, the express purpose of secondary-school courses is to teach the language as a vehicle of French culture. Readings must be about France, and Indo-Chinese authors are ruled out. The content of the conversation and composition phases of the programme is also concerned with French civilization.

In the first year of secondary French (sixth form), the Mauger booklets used in upper primary are reviewed and remedial instruction is common. Starting with this year, a new Mauger series for foreigners, *Cours de Langue et Civilisation Française*, consisting of three volumes, is introduced. It is completed during the last year of the lower cycle (form 3), the last portion studied always being reviewed at the beginning of each year.

In the final semester of this programme (end of form 3, second part of Mauger volume 3), there is a comprehensive review of grammar, spelling, composition and oral recitation. The number of hours per week devoted to French gradually diminishes, from ten hours in the sixth form to four hours in the first form.

Although some classical literary content exists in the material used during the first cycle (forms 6-3), it is not until the upper-secondary level (forms 2-1 and the *classe terminale*) that literature is actually studied in the traditional way. The texts used are classics by French authors and translations of European literary masterpieces. In the existing university, French courses include the usual range found in national modern-language departments everywhere; there are no language courses as such.

The common complaint of weakness in French at the beginning of the secondary level seems to originate in the fact that the primary student never gets a chance to say a French sentence at normal speed and with normal intonation, or to respond to the teacher's stimulus in any which departs from the prescribed responses. This begins to change during secondary education, because of the increasing opportunities for using French provided by the non-language courses. But only those students who survive until the final phase of secondary education have a reasonable chance of learning French, not only because of the extra years of instruction, but because it is here that their exposure to professors who are native speakers of French begins to increase rapidly. In both public and private *lycées*, the percentage of French professors is far greater than at the lower levels.

Some remedial work is being done at the teacher-training colleges on the French proficiency of future instructors and professors, and the constant build-up of the educational system may eventually improve standards of French even in the primary schools. Until now, however, it must be considered that the tool courses are not doing the job they are supposed to. The primary-school graduate has learned a small body of rote-French which he can deliver in staccato fashion upon command, but in most cases no normal French at all.

3. *English*

Besides being the primary foreign language in government schools such as the Lycée Bouddhique, the Lycée Khmèro-Anglais and the Université Bouddhique, English is also taught as a required subject in the secondary schools. In the latter case, however, another language may be substituted for English. Examinations for the DESPC (first-cycle diploma), and for the first and second baccalaureate of all series except the classical include an oral interrogation in English or another modern language. English is also offered in the Université Royale.

The methods and materials for teaching English vary greatly among the three types of institution: French-medium, Buddhist and the Lycée Khmèro-Anglais. In the French-medium institutions, English is taught by standards applicable to French schooling; the purpose in secondary schools is to fulfil the requirement, and in the university it is academic research. In the Buddhist institutions, English is taught in a variety of new and traditional ways, but the purpose is oral communication with other Buddhists and utilization of Indian and other research materials in English. In the Lycée Khmèro-Anglais, English is designed to be the primary foreign language (with French secondary) and so is taught as a medium of future instruction; the methods and texts used are similar to those used in the United Kingdom and the United States for teaching the language to foreigners.

The results of the three styles of teaching are not conclusive, and the purposes are different, but all seem to have avoided the staccato characteristics of Cambodian French by emphasizing utterances with normal intonation and stress-patterns. The fluency of students of English of any category, however, is not yet comparable to that of students of French at the secondary level.

4. *Pali, Sanskrit and other languages*

Pali and Sanskrit are required subjects at the secondary level for those who choose the classical series; both oral and written examinations are part of the DESPC and the two baccalaureate examinations of the series. The two languages are also taught in both universities, more extensively in the Université Bouddhique. Because of religious connotations, both Pali and Sanskrit are considered living languages (hence the oral examination), but the methods and materials for instruction are much closer to those normally used for classical languages such as Latin and Greek. The purpose of teaching Pali and Sanskrit, whether in religious or secular institutions, is twofold: (a) to provide access to Buddhist and Hindu literature, and (b) to provide insight into the large body of Indic loan-words in Khmer.

Living languages (other than French or Khmer) may be substituted for English in various types of examination (see above). Since such languages are also taught in private schools and spoken in homes, occasionally a candidate for a certificate or baccalaureate may elect them. The present list includes, besides English, the following languages: Russian, Thai, Lao, Vietnamese and Chinese. It is only the last two, however, which are extensively taught in private schools, and the graduates of Chinese and Vietnamese schools seldom present themselves for the national examinations. Most candidates, therefore, take the oral examination in English.

Vietnamese and Chinese are taught in the private vernacular schools not only as languages, but as means of instruction in other subjects. This latter is more true of Chinese schools than of Vietnamese, where the French medium is more likely to be used. The preparation of students is not directed toward occupations or further education in Cambodia, but rather in China or Viet-Nam (principally the Chinese People's Republic and North Viet-Nam). The systems of instruction therefore are very similar to systems found elsewhere: in the case of Chinese, to vernacular schools throughout South-East Asia (see Chapter III, Section C) and in the case of Vietnamese, to the national schools of both parts of Viet-Nam (see Chapter XI).

Aside from a few European languages, such as Russian and German, offered in a scattering of technical institutes, private schools and the Université Royale, this completes the list of languages taught in Cambodia.

E. LANGUAGE-TEACHING RESOURCES

1. *Texts*

Texts for teaching French, besides the Mauger series and others on the approved list, are largely imported from France. Those in common use, except at a very few private schools, are parallel in both method and content to the prescribed curriculum. Conversation manuals with grammar-and-exercise features predominate. Although many other courses exist whose purpose is to teach French to foreigners as a means of oral communication, these are seldom found either in public or private schools.

Texts for teaching Khmer to native speakers are less abundant, but well organized for the purposes for which they are intended: standardization of the oral language and inculcation of the written language. Texts specifically designed for teaching Khmer to foreigners are almost non-existent. The more advanced Khmer manuals are almost entirely literary, philological and aesthetic in character.

English textbooks are as widely varied in character as French, but the teaching of English is comparatively new, and consequently almost all types of approach, from the most traditional grammar-and-translation to the most advanced oral-aural methods, can actually be found in use in the schools. Regardless of the approach, or the level of introduction of English, however, most texts in use are of an elementary nature.

Pali and Sanskrit texts have a distinctly philological bias, although the languages are theoretically taught as living languages. For Vietnamese and Chinese, the materials are of the type found elsewhere (see Chapters III and XI). For other languages, materials normally are produced in the country of origin of the language taught and are extremely elementary.

2. *Staff*

Teachers of the French language who are competent, trained and experienced are in terribly short supply at all primary and secondary levels. Native-speaking professors are needed for other subjects besides French and typically make their greatest contribution to the language-learning process in non-language subjects, by providing the opportunity for oral communication in a nearly natural situation. Professional personnel of French nationality (whether trained as teachers or not) are hence in greatest demand in the *collèges* and *lycées*, both public and private, and command higher salaries than their Cambodian counterparts. It is realized by both students and administrators that studying under French professors is about the only way to achieve the baccalaureate status necessary for admission to the universities, domestic or foreign.

Cambodian teachers of the French language are extremely well trained, although still in short supply, and well supervised in their teaching activities. The prescribed method of instruction, however, when combined with a lack of confidence on the part of the instructor which makes it extremely dangerous for him to depart from the well-marked path, does not make for encouraging results. Those who are best qualified for the job, moreover, are quickly promoted out of teaching to supervisory posts or to the staffs of teacher-training institutions. Most teachers of French at the primary and first-cycle secondary levels have for some time been Cambodians.

It is said that there is a similar shortage of competent, trained and experienced teachers of Khmer. This can only be interpreted to mean, however, that existing teachers are not properly prepared in the French academic sense. There are certainly plenty of teachers with excellent command of the language, good training and long experience in teaching Khmer. This observation also applies to teachers of Chinese and Vietnamese in the vernacular schools.

There are very few native-speaking teachers of English in the country at present, and the discipline is so new that trained Cambodian teachers of English are also hard to find. The subject is taught by French nationals at many *lycées* and in the Université Royale. English is taught by Cambodian professors at the Université Bouddhique. So far, European languages other than English (e.g., Russian, German) are mainly taught by citizens of those countries. The teaching of Pali and Sanskrit is still dominated by present and ex-members of the Buddhist clergy.

3. *Teachers: training and supervision*

Language *instituteurs* and *professeurs* of all languages at the primary and lower-secondary levels have gone through rigorous training, both in their specialities and in educational methods, prior to assignment. After assignment, they are subject to a thorough and systematic review of their performance by immediate superiors, under a system inherited from French education. It is quite apparent that the admitted failure of the system to teach French adequately must have other causes than supervision.

Cambodian teacher-training institutions are among the finest in all South-East Asia, and their language faculties are up to that standard. The Centre de Préparation Pédagogique at Kampong Kontuot (about 30 kilometres from the capital) trains *instituteurs* for primary schools. This model institution, located in a rural setting, makes optimum use of raw materials available almost anywhere in the country for constructing its own pedagogic devices. Student-teachers do much of the work of the school, including the preparation of meals, and provide their own entertainment. Since most of them will teach in rural communities, they are taught above all to make the most of available resources, both human and material, and to encourage a similar spirit of participation among their future students.

The Institut National de Pédagogie, located in Phnom-Penh, trains both *instituteurs* (primary) and *professeurs* for the first cycle of secondary education. It is scheduled to become the Faculté de Pédagogie, under the new university scheme, of the Université Royale. It offers several different programmes, depending on the baccalaureate status of the entrant and the type of teaching for which he is being prepared, ranging from one to three years. In the training of primary teachers it is in direct competition with the Centre de Préparation Pédagogique, but uses quite different methods, its output being destined for urban centres. For secondary *professeurs* there are seven possible choices of specialization, each involving one major and one minor subject; three of the specializations are in languages: French-English,

English-French and Khmer-French. The reason for the reverse specialization (English-French) is apparently an effort to prepare for an expected increase in the study of English, especially after the fifth form; it does not necessarily reflect an expected change in general policy.

4. *Audio-visual aids*

The most common kinds of visual aids used in language teaching, as in all other kinds of teaching, are simple charts, diagrams, pictures and demonstration models. The Pedagogic Centre at Kampong Kontuot trains its future teachers to construct such aids themselves, rather than to expect to have them provided. The Ministry of Education has a Service Pédagogique which is charged with the preparation of audio-visual aids, including testing materials and radio programmes. It does not offer much in the field of language teaching, however, having ceded this responsibility to the teacher-training institutions. Films of any kind are seldom used.

As for audio equipment, tapes are used more frequently than records, but both are quite rare. The Pedagogic Centre at Kampong Kontuot has tape equipment, but in accordance with its policy of utilizing available materials does not emphasize work with tapes except for the improvement of the student-teachers' own proficiency. The Institut National de Pédagogie has thirty fully-installed tape recorders in booths in its laboratory, which is intended for the use of all language departments. The existing tapes, however, are nearly all in English. There is little audio material in French or Khmer to be found anywhere, as a matter of fact, although the French cultural mission does provide both movies and tapes for general use.

5. *Testing*

Except for the test in English (or language that may be substituted for English; see Section D.4 above), which is only oral, the DESPC and baccalaureate language examinations typically comprise both written and oral components. In the DESPC examination, there is a composition to be written, a dictation with questions to be answered, and an oral interview, in both Khmer and French. In the first baccalaureate examination, an essay (*dissertation*) must be written in both languages, and there is a written test on Pali or Sanskrit also in the classical series; plus oral interviews in the two (or three) languages. In the second baccalaureate examination, there is more diversification depending on the major, but language examinations begin to count for more. The written portion of the examination is now called *dissertation philosophique*, but it is clearly a test of formal language skill. This is the point of no return for students who are poorly prepared in French. The whole oral portion of the second baccalaureate examination might similarly be said to be a test of communication skill, although there is no part specifically designated as a language test.

Some examinations in oral French are also given by various faculties of the Université Royale and in other institutions of post-secondary education, as part of the general screening of candidates. Language tests given as part of the course of study are almost invariably written, regardless of the language involved. Aptitude and general proficiency testing (except as noted above) are virtually unknown.

F. EFFECTS ON NON-LANGUAGE COURSES

1. *Preparation of university students*

The policy of using French as the medium of instruction in upper-primary and secondary schooling was expected to have the effect of putting Cambodian universities on a par with French universities, since admission to both kinds of higher institution is by basically the same kind of examination. That this effect has not materialized can be explained in part by the fact that Cambodian *bacheliers* have in the past preferred, and apparently still prefer, the overseas brand of education to the local variety. The relative inexpensiveness of French education for those who are sufficiently qualified to receive scholarships has had the result of leaving a residue of scholastically, as well as economically, deprived candidates for the Université Royale. (The Buddhist university, of course, is a different case altogether; its quality depends almost entirely on the quality of graduates of a single *lycée*.)

If there are not enough qualified candidates for a single Cambodian French-medium university, the creation of four additional ones can only compound the problem. Already, in fact, the stream of progression toward conventional higher education is being diverted into secondary-level technical institutes and teacher-training programmes. The scarcity of well-prepared advanced students is being felt all around: for example, the new Russian technical school is operating far below capacity. Only the teacher-training schools have an actual surfeit of qualified applicants.

In theory, however, the preparation of students for the university in the French medium eliminates the problem of texts, periodicals and (barring economic factors) library facilities. It opens up the entire world of French scientific, medical, humanistic and social science literature to the candidate for advanced degrees. It makes possible not only the local utilization of professors from France in all disciplines, but also of professors from other French-speaking countries. But in Cambodia, as in all other countries, where higher education is in a foreign language, one hears the usual complaints about lack of preparation in the language of instruction, despite the rigid examination standards. Similar anxieties about the general preparation of students for the university are quite often traceable to lack of comprehension of subject matter which has been memorized, and this in turn traces back to language proficiency.

The only possible conclusion is that, unless improvements in the method of teaching French are on the way, the supply of qualified university students will still be far from adequate, even for a single institution.

2. *Teaching staff*

In the last three years of secondary education and in higher education, expatriate teachers are the rule. In the primary and lower-secondary schools, both public and private, Cambodian teachers are far in the majority. One explanation, in fact, for the obvious insufficiency of public secondary education, is the difficulty of securing enough French staff at prevailing rates of pay to man the institutions. The private *collèges* and *lycées*, at least in the Phnom-Penh area, manage to put together their staff by employing part-time French professors (some of whom do double-duty at public institutions) and by hiring French-speaking personnel, in some cases dependents of the French official and semi-official community, who are not academically qualified for the corresponding public-school level.

There are even a few private *lycées* with a greater percentage of graduates passing the baccalaureate examinations than some of the public *lycées*. But, on the average, the private secondary schools are far inferior; some have yet to get a student past the baccalaureate examination. The enrolment in the better private schools continues at a fantastically high level, especially in the capital, and the success of the school seems to depend on its ability to attract French-speaking instructors for the last three years of secondary education.

At the lower levels (primary and first-cycle secondary) teachers are extremely competent in methodology but are typically narrow in their control of subject matter. Except in the first three years of primary school, this substantive weakness also has its roots in language capability. One may expect, however, a gradual upward trend to take effect as the products of the excellent teacher-training institutions begin to go to work in the schools. Depending on the solution to language problems, this upward trend could one day reach the upper-secondary level, but for the universities the outlook must depend for the time being on the return of graduates from higher-education institutions abroad and the absorption of local university products back into the educational system.

3. *Basic texts and library facilities*

The lower-primary-school curriculum in the Khmer medium is not really a problem, although there are the usual complaints about the quality of texts. Given the present system, the textbook problem at the top of the educational pyramid, in the universities, is already solved in theory: wherever French materials exist, they can be used, and the only question is whether the student can afford them. It is the area in between the top and the bottom where the problem of basic texts is serious, and the critical area is the lower secondary school.

Since the typical student in the first cycle of secondary education is insufficiently prepared in French either to read his textbook or understand a lecture given entirely in French, and since he is now completely cut off from Khmer instruction (at least in theory), certain makeshift solutions have to be adopted. One is for the professor to give oral explanations in Khmer, and this is frequently done. Another solution is for the student to buy or borrow an actual text in Khmer (if such exists) or a set of lecture notes, as a companion piece to the official French textbook. With either or both these devices, some students do manage to learn the subject matter, and the very best ones also learn it in French, well enough to return it intact on a DESPC examination. (But even these students will fail their baccalaureate examinations unless they have also acquired a general knowledge of French.)

Partly as a result of this need, and partly as a result of the existence of Khmer-medium secondary schools such as the Lycée Bouddhique and Lycée Khmèro-Anglais, a small body of commercial Khmer secondary textbooks is beginning to be seen on the market. Ranging in quality from bad to adequate, and in subject matter from physics to the social sciences, these texts can be bought at very reasonable prices in strategically located bookstores. As far as authorship and eventual official acceptance are concerned, an embryonic system is already being evolved through a teachers' union, bearing a strong resemblance to the Khurusapha system of textbook publication now in effect in Thailand (see Chapter XII, Section F.3). The Khmer materials gap at present, however, is far from filled by this phenomenon, and handwritten notes in Khmer taken by former students or circulated by professors are far more common than printed texts of any kind.

The problem of library facilities, like the problem of textbooks at the higher-education level, is purely a matter of cost. The primary and secondary curriculum as it now stands does not encourage individual research and existing libraries at the lower schools range from meagre to virtually bare. The majority of books are in French, but there is a surprisingly large quantity of English material, considering the recent arrival of this language on the educational scene. Primary and secondary libraries are mainly for the use of the staff, both in theory and in practice.

The question of university libraries has not really been opened in Cambodia. Collections of books on Khmer and Buddhist studies, both historical and descriptive, exist in many scattered localities and have only to be centralized to form an impressive national library. The acquisition of French, plus other

European and regional books, depends on how much, what, and when the universities can afford to buy. Present educational language policy raises no other obstacle to the building up of libraries in connexion with higher education.

VII. Indonesia

A. THE POLICY

1. *History*

The adoption of what is called Bahasa Indonesia ('the Indonesian language') as the national language actually predates Independence by a considerable period. The spoken-dialect basis of Bahasa Indonesia was a dialect of Malay which had served as a lingua franca in the archipelago even before Dutch colonization. The linguistic situation in what is now the Republic of Indonesia has been for centuries, and still is, a *pot-pourri* of closely related, but often mutually unintelligible languages and dialects, the most widely spoken of which at present serves only about 40 per cent of the population (see Section C below). The period of Dutch occupation established the Dutch language as the medium of education, internal administration, and the courts; for the intelligentsia, at least, it became also a lingua franca that replaced some of the uses of Malay.

The earliest formal expression of a decision to adopt Bahasa Indonesia as a national language was probably that of the nationalist organization in 1928. The first Indonesian Language Congress was held at Solo a decade later. The Japanese occupation of Indonesia at the time of the Second World War, far from disrupting the national-language movement, gave added impetus to it. The authorities of the new colonial power did not speak Dutch, and had no intention of learning it; the short-term use by the occupation of the somewhat more easily acquired Malay-based language for inter-archipelago communication seemed preferable to an attempt to propagate Japanese over such a vast area, although this last remained a long-range objective. As a result, the coming of full independence to Indonesia found it already equipped with a partly established national language.

In Dutch times, however, vernacular education had been conducted in some of the larger non-Malay languages such as Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese. The proportion of the population speaking Malay natively being rather small, there was no comparable development of educational techniques and materials in what was to become the official language of the country, and no help was forthcoming from Malaya itself, where education under the British still largely centred on the English medium. Hence the language problems faced after the coming of independence were even more acute in the field of education than they were in general communication. The fact that the republic has apparently managed to surmount these problems, and at the same time to introduce a new foreign language, English, to replace some of the uses of Dutch (in education and foreign affairs, for example) is thus all the more remarkable a feat.

2. *The present situation*

Article 36 of the 1945 Constitution states simply: 'The language of the State shall be the Indonesian language.' This general policy has been rigorously adhered to for the past twenty years, the only apparent deviations from it being minor concessions in vernacular and higher education, and in local privileges. An example of the latter is contained in the Elucidation of the Constitution (1946), where Article 36 is elucidated with the inclusion of the statement: 'In the areas possessing languages of their own which are actively used by the people concerned (for instance Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, and so forth), those languages will be respected and also cared for by the State. Those languages are part of the living culture of Indonesia.' This wording, however, is vague both as regards the obligations of the State and as regards the languages affected; for example, unless something different is meant by the term 'language' than is usually understood, the provision would seem to apply to all the languages spoken in the republic, several of which are of the Chinese variety.

In education, the language policy is currently being interpreted as follows. For the first three years of primary school, the local vernacular is the medium of instruction, provided it is one of the following six: Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Batak, Makassar or Balinese. For all other areas, and in areas where there is a mixture of native languages, the medium is Bahasa Indonesia from the first year of primary school onwards.

All upper-primary and secondary instruction is in the national-language medium, but, where the recognized vernaculars have been used in the first three years, they are continued as language subjects only. English is introduced as a compulsory subject at the beginning of secondary school, and a few other foreign and domestic languages are also offered at this level. In higher education, the medium is still Bahasa Indonesia, but students are expected to read English well enough to use English reference materials, and to understand occasional lectures (by expatriate professors, or in certain academic fields) in that language.

Indonesian universities also offer a wide range of other foreign and domestic languages, but Dutch is not one of them. Although Dutch is still a lingua franca and academic language for the older generation of Indonesians, it receives no official encouragement whatsoever from the government. In some cases, users of Dutch have been able to switch to German, which is totally acceptable and of greater utility in most academic fields than Dutch itself.

3. *Special effects on education*

The relatively long tradition of Bahasa Indonesia as a means of administrative and scholarly communication within the country (long as compared to the national languages of the Philippines or Burma, but not long as compared to Thai or Vietnamese), and the sheer weight of numbers of its users, have combined to make the written national language a success; hence the educational policy of Indonesia, which depends so entirely on the effectiveness of the national language as a means of communication, has also succeeded in proportion to its success, especially at the lower levels of the educational system. Indonesia today has a larger and more comprehensive literature in its national language than any of the other countries of South-East Asia; it is apparently adequate for all educational purposes up to the university level.

The educational policy recognizes, however, that Bahasa Indonesia alone is not as yet adequate for higher-education purposes, and officially supplements it with English, plus some French and German. The largest remaining obstacle to the full implementation of the policy is conceded to be the difficulty of teaching English to large numbers of secondary-school students without sufficient resources of native speakers, or even reasonably well-qualified non-native speakers to serve as language teachers. The government has faced this issue squarely, however, and seems to be getting results (see Section B.2 below). A second problem is the spread of the spoken national language, which is inhibited by a number of factors and has not kept pace with the spread of the written language. Since most Indonesian students, however, can easily be taught to read and comprehend the national language as it is written and spoken in the school system, this is less a problem for educational policy than it is for the general-language policy, which seeks to unify the country under the banner of Bahasa Indonesia while sanctioning the use of other languages related to it.

4. *The nature of the national language*

As previously indicated, the national language is based on a spoken dialect of Malay which already had some status as a lingua franca in the Indonesian area. In order to become *Bahasa Indonesia*, this dialect underwent some artificial changes, both in structure and vocabulary, which were first established through the medium of writing and only later became conventional for speakers. The artificial changes in structure were mostly in the direction of regularization and development of the affix systems, mainly the prefix system. The changes in vocabulary attempted to incorporate words for everyday concepts taken mainly from indigenous languages other than Malay, and for technical and scientific concepts mainly from foreign languages, particularly those of Western Europe. The stock of Arabic and Indic loan-words already present in the base language has occasionally been extended and developed.

The writing system is the Roman alphabet with almost no modifications (the only noticeable modification being the use of a superscript numeral 2 to indicate reduplication). Loan-words, from whatever source, are spelled in this system according to the desired standardized pronunciation, and in most cases eventually come to have a conventional pronunciation which accords closely with the spelling. There is little or no attempt to preserve foreign spellings of words from languages which happen also to use the Roman alphabet. Written Indonesian resembles standard written Malay very closely; the obvious differences in spelling seldom reflect differences in pronunciation for a given item (although such differences do exist without being reflected in the writing system).

The spoken standard languages of Indonesia and Malaysia are, in fact, dialects of a single language which we have chosen to call Indonesian/Malay. Differences between these two dialects are greater in the area of vocabulary than in that of structure. Indonesian/Malay, in turn, is closely related to nearly all the other languages spoken within Indonesia, both major and minor, with the notable exception of the Chinese languages. The typical citizen of Indonesia today (except those from original Malay-speaking areas) operates, in fact, in two spoken languages: his own vernacular for everyday matters, and Bahasa Indonesia for technical and academic discussion. It is a common phenomenon for such a speaker to be as unsure of political terminology in his own vernacular as he is of, let us say, baking terms in the national language.

B. THE INSTRUMENTS OF POLICY

Since the main tasks connected with the implementation of educational language policy have to do with (a) the development and spread of the national language, especially its vocabulary and (b) the strengthening of English teaching within the limitations imposed by realistic planning and budgeting, the agencies charged with responsibility for these tasks can be grouped under the appropriate heading below. The Ministry of Education, and to some extent the universities (which are responsible to the ministry in the Indonesian system) are directly involved in both types of problem.

1. *National-language development*

The principal responsibility for the development and spread of Bahasa Indonesia seems to rest with the Balai Pustaka (a semi-official agency), the Language Bureau of the Ministry of Education, and the various departments of Indonesian language and literature of the State universities. In the last case, the staff of higher-education institutions are brought into language development activities more directly than is the case in most countries of the region.

The language and literature professors, moreover, come from a healthy diversity of backgrounds. Some are graduates of Dutch universities in the Netherlands or Dutch-type universities in pre-independent Indonesia; their bias is likely to be scholarly, etymological and historical. Others are more recent graduates of State universities who grew up and were educated during the period when the national language was very much a practical issue; their contributions are likely to be based on a first-hand understanding of actual needs. A third group consists of graduates of foreign universities (and more recently, of certain universities in Indonesia itself) who were trained in modern linguistics; they bring to the problem of language development the techniques of descriptive analysis and the means of evaluating proposed solutions to specific needs.

The Balai Pustaka, with its related committees and agencies, performs a greater function than simply keeping the national language supplied with standardized forms of new vocabulary items. Under indirect government subsidy, vast translation projects are carried out and new textbook production is stimulated. Grammars, dictionaries, encyclopaedias, and even atlases have been turned out in profusion in the last twenty years. The production of new material has been so rapid in recent years, in fact, that inevitably new coinages for the same concept by different authors occur. Rather than trying to settle each terminology conflict by administrative fiat, the practice has been to allow the open market to make the decision; that is, some new coinages survive, and others die, depending only on the frequency with which other writers and speakers pick them up. The communications media, especially the radio, are perhaps decisive influences in all but the most esoteric areas of vocabulary, where the numerous scientific and technical journals are the ultimate arbiters.

Pure linguistic research, as distinguished from national language development activities, is extensively carried out in Indonesia today. Such research is not confined to Bahasa Indonesia itself, but covers most of the vernaculars as well. It is done not only by university scholars, but also by scholastic societies which include members not connected with any institution of higher learning, and most of which publish some kind of journal. Including publications devoted to literary as well as linguistic scholarship, there are at least a dozen such journals published with some degree of regularity.

2. *English teaching*

The teaching of English in secondary school for ultimate use as the language of wider communication in general, and as a supplementary communications tool in the universities, is a cornerstone of present Indonesian educational language policy. From the time of the original decision to replace Dutch with English (perhaps taken during the war), it was clearly realized that the implementation of such a policy on so vast a scale as the proposed secondary-school system would require careful long-range planning. The supply of potential teachers of English at the secondary level was practically nil from the start, and hence the principal agencies responsible for the development of English-teaching skills had to be the teacher-training institutions.

A growing educational system as large and complex as that of Indonesia already required a network of teacher-training institutions at many levels. It was probably only natural that this pedagogical hierarchy should be put to work to solve the specific problem of English teaching. With some modifications, the programme originally envisioned (and recommended by foreign advisers) has been in operation for ten years and is beginning to bear fruit.

This programme, in somewhat oversimplified terms, can be described as follows. Foreign assistance is used to train, not merely teachers of English, but teachers of teachers of English, and to develop materials specifically designed for the teaching of English to Indonesians. Starting at the very highest level, at selected universities in Indonesia and abroad, students are trained in linguistics and the content and methodology of the proposed English courses; upon graduation they are assigned to faculties of education and language in teacher-training colleges. The graduates of the teacher-training colleges themselves become the actual instructors of English courses in secondary schools. Along with this hierarchical system go elaborate procedures to ensure feedback from lower to higher levels—retraining programmes, seminars, pilot projects and special institutes. The same kind of upward and downward communication operates constantly in the development of pedagogical materials—from teacher to teachers' college staff to foreign advisers.

Thus personnel from several different English-speaking countries are unofficially involved in implementing this aspect of Indonesian educational language policy. Specifically, the foreign organizations are the Australian Volunteers, the British Council, the Ford Foundation, and the United States bi-national centres and aid programmes; New Zealand and Canada are also involved through such organizations as the Colombo Plan. As far as official agencies of government are concerned, the Office of English Language Instruction of the Ministry of Education acts as a clearing house for various assistance and materials projects.

One common feature of the whole pattern of foreign assistance groups is that their functions are always designed to be taken over by Indonesians trained specifically by them for that purpose, sometimes with a definite target date in mind. This system actually has worked in specific cases and is something of a safeguard against the development of self-perpetuating expatriate organizations such as are found in other countries of the region. Although the final results are by no means in, the case of the English-language teaching programmes in Indonesia seems so far to be an example of excellent governmental planning and execution in an educational field where the original resources were critically thin.

C. ETHNIC GROUPS AND MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION

The Indonesian Government does not issue figures, either through the census or otherwise, which indicate how many of its people speak the various languages of the country as their mother tongue. Such figures can only be projected from earlier estimates of ethnolinguistic group membership, by assuming equal population growth for all such groups. This method ignores the possibility, among others, that some potential vernacular speakers are actually learning Bahasa Indonesia as a mother tongue, either because their parents consciously intended that they should, or because living in an area of mixed linguistic composition resulted in their learning the language during pre-school years. A rough projection based on the assumption that such transfers are statistically insignificant, and using 100 million as the total population figure, would be as follows:

1. Western Malayo-Polynesian languages, of which Indonesian/Malay itself is a member, account for at least 90 per cent of the population in terms of native speakers. The separate languages of this group which are recognized by educational policy, i.e., the national language and the six most important vernaculars, in turn account for over 90 per cent of all speakers belonging to this language sub-family: Javanese, 45 million; Sundanese, 15 million; Madurese, 8 million; Indonesian/Malay, 7.5 million; Minangkabau, 3.5 million; Balinese, 2.5 million; Batak, 2.5 million; Makassar, 2 million; a total of 86 million for the major languages. Of the remaining Western Malayo-Polynesian languages, perhaps only Bugis and Achehnese claim more than a million speakers.
2. Chinese languages, with perhaps 2.5 million speakers, are the only other group worthy of individual mention. The leading language of this family in Indonesia is Hokkien, with over a million speakers; Hakka and Cantonese are next in order.
3. Other language families represented are Indo-European (English, Dutch, German, and several languages of northern India being the chief representatives), Dravidian, and several aboriginal groups not belonging to the Western Malayo-Polynesian family.

Whatever the validity of the above figures, it is clear that Indonesia is, from the point of view of language families (not single languages), the most homogeneous country in all South-East Asia, besides being the most populous. If it were not for this astonishing degree of ethnic homogeneity, in fact, it is doubtful whether a national language spoken natively by less than 8 per cent of the population, Indonesian/Malay, could be made to stick, whatever its status as a lingua franca might have been in the past (cf. the same language in Malaysia, Hindi in India, and Sinhala in Ceylon). Bahasa Indonesia, however, shows every sign of health and growth at present.

The case of Javanese is an interesting one. Spoken natively by nearly half the population, and possessing a large and varied (though not technical-scientific) literature, it is in most respects a more important language than some of the national languages of the region, and even rivals a few of the recognized world languages in purely numerical terms. As single languages go, in fact, it has more native speakers than any of the languages of South-East Asia, yet in Indonesia it is only one of six recognized vernaculars. The reasons usually cited for the unsuitability of Javanese as a national language can be summed up as follows: (a) lack of lingua-franca status outside its own area; (b) rival (geographical) dialects; (c) stratified social dialects which make the language 'difficult' for the outsider; (d) marginal occurrence in the capital itself. It is not surprising, therefore, that much of the resistance to the spread of Bahasa Indonesia should come from Javanese speakers; what is surprising is that this resistance is not more vehement.

The facts concerning the languages used as media of instruction in the public schools can be briefly summarized as follows:

Grades 1-3: Bahasa Indonesia, Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Batak, Balinese or Makassar (depending on geographical area).
Grades 4-12: Bahasa Indonesia only.
Higher education: Bahasa Indonesia and English.

Although English is used for reading purposes in many higher-education disciplines, it is also known to have been used during recent years as the actual medium of instruction (oral instruction and/or examinations) in the following fields: (a) agriculture and veterinary medicine; (b) medicine; (c) economics; (d) education; (e) linguistics; (f) nearly all subjects taught by expatriate professors.

In private primary and secondary schools, the only additional languages known to have been used recently as media of instruction are English and Mandarin (Chinese). As far as university-level reading languages are concerned, to English should probably be added French, Dutch and German, since assignments are occasionally made to text sources in these media—for example, in the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Sumatra as late as 1958.

D. LANGUAGE COURSES AND THEIR OBJECTIVES

1. *National language*

Bahasa Indonesia is taught as a language and/or literature course all through the twelve grades of primary and secondary school, regardless of the linguistic origin of students or their later field of specialization. For the first three years of primary school it is universally taught as a future medium of oral and written instruction, but for children who already speak Malay/Indonesian natively there is of course more emphasis on standardization than on the learning of new subject matter. During the upper half of primary school the content of the national language courses begins to change from instruction in pure reading, writing, speaking, and comprehension skills to include analytical, literary, and aesthetic components. For non-native speakers the learning process is now reinforced by the use of Bahasa Indonesia, instead of the vernacular, in all non-linguistic subjects.

In the middle secondary school (grades 7-9), the compulsory national-language course becomes more clearly literary and cultural in character, and in the last three years it contains real historical, comparative and descriptive linguistic components. The time spent on the national language during secondary school is five hours per week for the first two years, and at least four hours per week thereafter. During the last two years, the cultural and social-science streams are required to take, respectively, two and one extra hours of Indonesian language and literature.

In the universities, the amount of national-language instruction required depends on the area of specialization. The five-year programme of the Department of Indonesian Language of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Indonesia offers courses in the following subjects, among others: introduction to general and Indonesian linguistics; modern Indonesian literature; old Javanese; descriptive linguistics; comparative study of the regional (Indonesian) languages; philology of the Indonesian language.

2. *The vernaculars*

Wherever the six vernacular languages are used as the medium of instruction in grades 1-3, they are also compulsory subjects for the first nine primary-secondary years. During the first three years, the presumption is that all children are native speakers of the particular vernacular involved, and emphasis is on standardization and literacy. In the next three (upper primary) years, the vernacular is no longer being used as the medium of instruction for non-linguistic subjects, but it is continued as a required subject for the purpose of introducing students to the literary and cultural traditions of their own region. In the middle secondary school (grades 7-9), the vernacular-language course tapers off to two hours per week, but is still required. During the last three years of secondary school, the two-hour course is optional.

Regional vernaculars also occur in the higher-education curriculum, though not as mandatory subjects for all students. Indonesian language majors in the University of Indonesia, for example, are urged to take two years of a vernacular other than their own. Modern Javanese is said to be the most common option, and Old Javanese is taught in its own right as a philological, religious and literary subject.

3. *English*

English is a compulsory subject throughout all six years of the secondary system. For the first two years it is taught four hours per week, and for the next two years (grades 9 and 10) three hours per week, although a streaming process takes place after grade 9. During the last two years, the number of hours spent on English depends on the stream: for the cultural stream, it is four hours; for the social-science stream, three hours; and for the mathematics and science stream, two hours. The main purpose of the English courses is to develop at least comprehension of the spoken language, plus some degree of fluency in reading. During grades 11 and 12, specialized vocabulary material is introduced for each of the streams.

English is generally not a required subject in higher education, the presumption being that the university student who needs to do reading or attend lectures in the language will already have had sufficient grounding in secondary school to develop further skills on his own. But wherever faculties decide upon their own curriculum, English may be designated a required subject if the faculty feel that heavy English reading or lecture attendance is unavoidable. This is most likely to occur when much of the teaching in a given faculty is being done by expatriate staff.

Departments of English, of course, require content courses in the language as well as the usual literary and linguistic offerings. This department at the University of Indonesia, for example, lists such courses as comprehension, composition, translation and conversation during the first three years of its curriculum.

4. *Other languages*

Besides English and the indigenous languages of Indonesia, a number of other languages are offered in public and private schools at various levels. The common objective is research.

Mandarin Chinese is taught not only in the Chinese private primary and secondary schools, but also in departments of sinology (or similarly designated departments) of a number of public and private universities.

French and German are both taught in upper secondary schools as well as in the universities. In grade 10, there are two-hour mandatory courses for all streams in these languages, and for the cultural and social-science streams these courses continue until the end of secondary school. In some universities, departmental offerings in French and German literature and linguistics are quite extensive, allowing a full major in these subjects.

Arabic is offered in higher-education and in specialized lower-level institutions, usually in connexion with Islamic studies, and almost invariably in its classical form.

Other classical languages, offered mainly by universities, are Latin, Greek, Pali, Sanskrit and Old Javanese.

There seems to be little or no interest on the part of the educational institutions of Indonesia in the regional languages of continental South-East Asia, although the reverse is not true. Several universities in countries to the north are at present offering courses in Bahasa Indonesia, with good enrolments. Apart from the modern languages listed above, only Japanese and Russian seem to excite any enthusiasm. It is not known whether these two languages are being formally taught at present.

E. LANGUAGE-TEACHING RESOURCES

1. *Staff: training and supervision*

Only in the vernacular languages is the supply of trained language teachers deemed adequate. This is partly because there are few opportunities for the vernacular specialist except of becoming a language teacher or a general teacher in the vernacular medium, whereas the potential English or Bahasa Indonesia teacher, who is in much more demand as such, can easily choose other lines of work. In theory, all English teachers are specialists. National-language teachers may be specialists only in the secondary schools and in higher education; in the primary schools, they must be generalists, like the vernacular teachers.

While there might conceivably be enough teachers who speak Malay/Indonesian natively to staff all the specialist positions, the regional teacher assignment pattern precludes any such arrangement. Thus, in the vernacular schools, not only the general teacher but the national-language specialist is usually teaching a language as foreign to himself as it is to his students. As for English specialists, virtually all are non-native speakers of English, and in most cases their proficiency in the language taught is far lower than the proficiency of national-language teachers in theirs. This is only natural, considering the low degree of vocabulary and structure transferability between any Indonesian language and English, as compared with the transferability between, say, Javanese and Bahasa Indonesia.

The training of prospective English teachers in the content of their subject, in spite of the elaborate hierarchical system (described in Section B.2 above), is still a problem. But their training in the methodology of teaching a second language, one completely new to virtually all students, is producing quite satisfactory results, within the limitations of vocabulary and structure which must be imposed. The training of teachers of the national language is equally rigorous, and well supported by research into the relationship between Bahasa Indonesia and the vernaculars. Although the principle that the national language should be taught to most students as a second language (i.e., as English is taught) is not accepted in full by educational authorities, there can be no real quarrelling with the results. A large part of the results, of course, can be attributed to the fact that Bahasa Indonesia is not simply a language course, but also a medium of instruction in other subjects for nine years.

Supervision of language teachers after they have reached the schools, however, is a serious problem, as is supervision of any kind of teacher in Indonesia. There are special sections in the Ministry of Education at Jakarta charged with supervising English and national-language instruction, and regional offices fulfilling the same function for vernacular instruction. Distances are so great, and travel so difficult, however, that what actually happens in the field mainly depends on the quality of local supervisors, who may be only generalists. A partial answer to the problem, in the case of language teaching, is provided by the system of re-training and various feedback devices.

2. *Texts and aids*

The ministry directly or indirectly controls the content of all language courses (including such languages as Mandarin) at the primary and secondary levels. In both English and the national language, the approved materials are rigorously controlled, both with respect to latitude of selection and sequence of introduction; more local option is apparently permitted in the case of the vernaculars. Nearly all language-teaching materials are now produced within the country, either by Indonesians or by foreigners on contract to the Indonesian Government. Even private publishers within the country have difficulty in getting texts approved, except at the higher and more literary levels of language instruction.

The present standardized syllabus for the secondary-school English courses, produced with Ford Foundation help, dates from 1958. It was scheduled to have gone into general use by 1962 (to what extent this was actually accomplished cannot be ascertained). During the development phase of the English texts, they were used at pilot-project schools in various locations. A general revision of the syllabus is scheduled for 1968. The syllabus for Bahasa Indonesia is likewise a product of extensive research and experimentation, and undergoes continuous revision.

Audio-visual equipment, especially tape recorders, exists in the larger urban centres, in a number of universities and teacher-training colleges, but does not penetrate even to the secondary-school level. It is used mainly for English and linguistics programmes, and is not yet a basic tool of instruction at any low-level institution.

3. *Testing*

Apparently most language testing is of the written-language achievement type. Indeed, the size and complexity of the pre-university system makes any other approach impractical. Oral proficiency examinations are occasionally given by university faculties and in teacher-training colleges, but usually to students who are to become specialists in language and literature. Such examinations are also said to be given officially to candidates for the Translators and Interpreters School. But in most instances of oral testing the scores are not recorded, and the tests must be classed as unofficial.

Success in language courses, therefore, like success in most subjects, is measured by one's ability to retain and transmit a corpus of written material, in response to written questions. There is no formal programme of aptitude testing envisioned, nor of proficiency testing not related to a given syllabus.

F. EFFECTS ON NON-LANGUAGE COURSES

1. *Student enrolment*

In 1962 there were 22 listed State universities, plus 46 post-secondary institutions run by ministries other than the Ministry of Higher Education, plus 162 private institutions of the comparable level. President Sukarno has proposed, as one of the country's educational aims, to have 1 million students in higher education by 1973, thereafter to maintain a ratio of 1 per cent of the population, and ultimately to have a university in every province of Indonesia. Six more State universities had been added by 1964, bringing the total to 28, and there were 179 private institutions.

Growth of higher education at this rate, it seems clear, could hardly be possible without an educational-language policy very much like the one which Indonesia has adopted: instruction in a single-language medium for at least nine pre-university years, with that same medium continuing into higher education, only minimally supplemented by a language of wider communication. Lack of language aptitude still potentially eliminates candidates for higher education, but not to the same degree as when a completely unrelated, unfamiliar language is introduced too early in the educational system as a medium of instruction. Bahasa Indonesia is hard for some students to learn, but certainly not as hard as English.

2. *Teaching staff*

The development of a professional staff capable of filling the fast-opening positions in higher education is greatly facilitated by the same language policy. In a smaller country, the snowballing effect which national-language-medium instruction makes possible is often an extremely delayed effect. But for every specialist produced by the smaller countries, Indonesia produces three specalists, and a division of labour is possible: one man can teach, one can write textbooks and one can do pure research. Wherever the same man has to do all three jobs, progress is painfully slow: and until the national-language-medium textbooks are written, upward progress in the discipline is suspended. But once the machine is set in motion, it regenerates itself: new textbooks and new professors lift the whole productive apparatus one notch higher, and so on. The whole process, moreover, is not slowed down by the necessity for each person to learn to operate in a totally foreign medium before he can make sense to his professors, his colleagues or his students.

At the same time, Indonesian language policy has not made the mistake of rejecting the languages of wider communication prematurely. It is still possible to fill higher-education positions, in some cases even whole departments, with expatriate staff when local candidates are not available. It is still possible for Indonesian scholars to communicate with the outside world, both through the professional journals and through direct contact at conferences.

3. *Texts and library facilities*

Another of the higher educational aims of the Indonesian Government is to achieve by 1965 a 2 : 1 ratio between faculties of natural science, technology, agriculture and medicine, on the one hand, and the arts, social sciences and law, on the other hand; eventually this ratio is to be increased to 7 : 3. Such an emphasis on technology, as opposed to the more humanistic disciplines, would be unthinkable, even in theory, for a country in which the basic textbooks, in whatever the language of instruction, were yet to be produced. It would be unthinkable for a country using a foreign language as the medium of instruction, because the sheer task of teaching the foreign language well enough to equip such large numbers of students to utilize the technological literature would in itself be an unsurmountable problem. But Indonesia already has a solid foundation of text material on technical subjects in its own national language, and the literature is rapidly growing.

In the short space of twenty years (if one may date the start of real programming as early as 1945), Indonesia has been able to produce in all fields, including the arts, social sciences and law, a national-language literature superior in quantity (if not indeed in quality) to the literature of any other national language of the region. Part of this achievement is perhaps attributable to the sheer weight of numbers, since Indonesia is by far the largest country; but part is certainly due to wise planning and determined execution of policy. The libraries of Indonesian universities are still a far cry from their counterparts in the West, and even from those in Japan. But educational policy has provided a means of supplementing these library facilities with Western literature, which many university students can already take advantage of to a degree. The method of teaching English, while not yet a total success, shows signs of ultimately being able to fulfil its objective of equipping all students with a strong tool for higher education research and world-wide communication.

VIII. Laos

A. THE POLICY

1. *History*

Like the other two newly sovereign nations of former French Indo-China which are covered in this report (Cambodia and South Viet-Nam) Laos inherited an educational system based on the French model. Partly because of its remoteness from centres of colonial administration, however, it inherited much less of a system than its two more populous neighbours. Until 1921, in fact, there was no secondary education at all in the kingdom; Lao students had to go to Hanoi, Saigon, Dalat or Phnom-Penh for further study. The first *collège* of Laos, founded in 1921 in Vientiane, did not become a full *lycée* until the post-war period, in 1949. It is still the only full *lycée* in the kingdom.

Laos remains the only country in South-East Asia without a university of its own, although tertiary education now exists (see Section F.1 below). Until after the Second World War, Lao citizens with overseas degrees were extremely rare, but at the present time there are some 500 students pursuing higher education abroad. With the recent increase in the number of secondary schools and the size of their enrolments, it is reasonably safe to predict that some kind of Laotian university cannot long remain in the planning stage. Hence it is not entirely fruitless to speculate on the effects of present language policy on such a future university, generalizing from the brief experience with existing tertiary institutions wherever possible.

2. *The present situation*

The general language policy of the kingdom has been to rely upon French for virtually all administrative functions, both inside and outside the country. Only at extremely local levels are the national and various vernacular languages brought into play. Although the internal situation is complicated both by politico-military and ethnolinguistic considerations, there can be no doubt that the present reliance on French is the direct result of past educational factors, since virtually all the present generation of leaders and officials were educated in that medium. Recent massive United States aid has inevitably introduced English into the picture, but only at the operating level; there is no visible change in general policy as a result of it.

Educational-language policy parallels this situation very closely. The medium of instruction, except for the first cycle of primary school (grades 1-3) is still French. Although United States aid is given in the field of education, its emphasis is on the primary system, the secondary and tertiary levels being largely the responsibility of French organizations. Over 80 per cent of Laotian students in overseas institutions of higher education abroad are in France.

The most important recent development in the educational field, however, gives some evidence of a slightly different trend in language policy. This is the Royal Ordinance of 1962, which recasts the whole educational system of the kingdom, gives it a broader base by officially incorporating Buddhist temple schools, and emphasizes a simpler curriculum with vocational training aspects. The specific language objectives of the ordinance are as follows: (a) reading and writing of Lao (first three years); (b) knowledge of spoken French (second three years); (c) more systematic study of the national language (secondary education).

A cultural corollary of all these objectives may be the recommendation which prescribes less prominence to Europe and France, more to Laos, the South-East Asian region, and Asia in general, including Buddhism. Translated into simpler terms, the ordinance states a clear linguistic policy: 'We still want French, but without France.'

3. *Special effects of past policy*

Leaving this most recent development aside, the effects of past language policy in Laos can be summarized as follows:

1. The difficulty of passing French-language examinations and examinations of all kinds given in French, has severely cut down an already meagre supply of baccalaureate candidates.
2. The high standards for admission to the few available public secondary schools have already resulted in the kind of proliferation of private schools, at all levels, which is characteristic of Cambodia and South Viet-Nam.
3. The advantages of wealth, together with strategic location in one of the urban centres during the years of early education, are, perhaps, most clearly seen in the following statistics: In 1962-63, only 205 of the more than

3,000 candidates for grade 6 (secondary-school entrance) came from public primary schools; the remainder were from the private *petit lycée* of Vientiane or the Catholic primary schools. Although the Vietnamese, Chinese, and French minority groups together comprise less than 5 per cent of the total population, they account for about a third of all those receiving baccalaureate degrees.

4. The system has not produced teachers who are both willing and capable of teaching at the primary level, where they are most badly needed.
5. Secondary and tertiary education is still very largely staffed by expatriate teachers.
6. There has been virtually no development of text materials in the national language for grades above the third.

4. *Nature of the national language*

Lao (or Laotian, as it is also called) is based on several spoken dialects of the language we have called Thai/Lao. The two dialects which are most influential are those of Luang Prabang and Vientiane (the latter representing also the speech of several million people in north-east Thailand); these two are in competition for recognition as the standard language of Laos, but complete standardization has not yet taken place for either the spoken or the written language. The alphabet used is of the Indic type, and closely resembles that used for the national language of Thailand; it is much simpler than the Thai, but spelling has not fully crystallized, partly because of the competition of the dialects.

Serving as it does a population which only recently has exceeded 2 million, Lao has developed literature more slowly than any other national language of South-East Asia. Its scholars and developers have been largely Buddhist monks, and its literature is heavily inclined in the direction of religion and cultural history. Until very recently there has been little interest in its spread and development on the part of lay authorities.

B. THE INSTRUMENTS OF POLICY

The primary agency for the implementation of language policy in Laos is the Ministry of Education, Fine Arts, Sports and Youth. The director-general administers all schools and technical services, including texts and audio-visual aids. Primary teachers are directly supervised by the ministry; but the secondary staff, which is largely French, is under French inspectors, and entertains an annual mission from France for inspection purposes.

As far as the Royal Ordinance of 1962 is concerned, however, the teacher-training colleges and the Buddhist clergy must be singled out for special attention as potential shapers of language matters in the future. In the first category the most outstanding example is the École Supérieure de Pédagogie (see Section E.1 below, end), mainly because of its emphasis on languages other than French. In the second category, the most important institution is the Vientiane Institute for Buddhist Studies, for three different reasons: (a) it is the only non-French training centre for secondary-school teachers; (b) it is eventually to become the Religious University of Laos; and (c) it will certainly become a focus for development of the national language, quite apart from its interest in Pali and Sanskrit. The Buddhist clergy in general, in fact, can be expected to exert increasing pressure in favour of Lao, as their role in education increases through the incorporation of temple schools into the public system.

C. ETHNIC GROUPS AND MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION

If we assume a population of 2.5 million for the entire country, we arrive at the following estimates of numbers of native speakers of the various languages spoken in Laos as mother tongues:[1]

1. The Thai language sub-family accounts for over two-thirds of the population, or about 1.7 million speakers. Of these, about 1.5 million (60 per cent) are native speakers of dialects of Thai/Lao itself. Black Thai is probably the numerically most important smaller group, with large numbers of fairly recent refugees added to those already in Laos.
2. Mon-Khmer is the next largest family to be represented, with over a half million speakers (about 22 per cent of the total). The largest single member of this group is Khmu, with perhaps 150,000 speakers; Khmer itself (the national language of Cambodia) claims only about 10,000.
3. The Meo and Yao languages, thought to be related, claim about 120,000 speakers (about 5 per cent of the total). Meo is approximately three times as common as Yao.
4. Chinese languages account for some 50,000 speakers. The great majority speak Tiechiu.
5. Vietnamese, with some 30,000 native speakers, is the only other language that represents more than 1 per cent of the total population.
6. Speakers of French, English and other Indo-European languages (including those from India) are numerically insignificant minorities. (Like the Chinese and Vietnamese, however, their influence on education and language matters is greatly out of proportion to their numbers.)

The medium of instruction in all public schools is Lao for the first cycle of the primary level (grades 1-3), 'mixed Lao and French' for the second cycle (grades 4-6), and only French thereafter. (The meaning of the mixed medium in upper primary seems to be instruction primarily in French, with explanations as necessary in Lao, rather than the other way around. In other words,

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[1] Figures are averaged from those in the HRAF handbook on Laos, 1961, and those for 1959 in the Soviet publication *Cislennostj i Rasselenie Narodov Mira;* figures are projected forward to 1964.

French is taught through the device of using it in subjects other than language courses.)

In certain private schools, notably the *petit lycée* of Vientiane and most Catholic schools, the medium is French from the very beginning. In Chinese schools, the medium is Mandarin as soon as possible (but see Chapter III, Section C); there is a complete system of Chinese education through the third year of secondary school, with fourteen primary schools in strategic urban locations and three secondary schools (Vientiane, Pakse, Savannakhet). There are about twelve Vietnamese-medium primary schools, mainly in urban centres.

The Lao educational system does not recognize the minority groups. Nevertheless, there is some vernacular education even for groups less economically well off than the French, Chinese and Vietnamese. Such schools are operated privately by Catholic, Protestant and Buddhist organizations. The only minorities known to be benefiting from organized schools of this type are speakers of the two largest non-Lao languages: Meo and Khmu. Schools for Black Thai refugees, on the other hand, are said to use the Lao medium.

The so-called 'Pali elementary schools' do not use the religious language as a medium of instruction. The term refers, rather, to the teaching of Pali as a subject in such schools.

D. LANGUAGE COURSES AND THEIR OBJECTIVES

Since the recommendations of the Royal Ordinance of 1962 have yet to be fully implemented, although both Lao and French are widely taught in Laos today, it is only the latter that is taught systematically throughout the public school system. The techniques, teachers and materials for teaching French are still largely imported from abroad, however, and the content at last report was still heavily weighted with French cultural information. The primary purpose of French-language instruction, of course, is to prepare students for later instruction in all subjects in the French medium, starting from the fourth year of primary school. From upper primary onwards, the language teaching is heavily reinforced by actual communication experience in these other subjects, and those students who survive secondary school are likely to have a fairly good command of the language upon graduation. A special remedial year in French (pre-grade 6) has been found necessary, however, for those too weak in the language to enter secondary school; it is filled largely with public, rather than private, primary-school graduates.

Lao, on the other hand, is taught mainly for standardization and literacy purposes, although for a great many minority-group students the first task is to become familiar with the spoken language itself. A body of scholarship and methodology is gradually emerging for the teaching of Lao, but the day when a full curriculum in the national language (extending through the secondary level at least) becomes available is not yet at hand.

Of the languages not generally taught in the schools, Mandarin, Vietnamese and English are the most widespread. Mandarin is mainly confined to the schools of the Chinese ethnic group, and Vietnamese to its own ethnic group (where it is taught by methods similar to those used in the parent country). English is in demand, both as a regional language and as an economic asset within Laos itself, and is offered in a number of private and specialized schools. Like French, it is a new language to virtually all learners, and is taught accordingly.

Such languages as Meo, Khmu and a few other minority languages are taught for literacy purposes, usually by private missionary organizations. Since no university exists, and few students have the leisure to pursue language study for academic or research purposes, the usual array of world-language offerings (apart from English and French) is lacking in Laos.

E. LANGUAGE-TEACHING RESOURCES

1. *Lao-language staff and training*

Although the potential supply of teachers of Lao as a first or second language is quite large, the fact that the concentration of such teaching is in the first three grades of primary school means that much of Lao instruction must be given by generalists, and not by specialists trained specifically for the job. At the higher levels, specialists are feasible, but the curriculum development, and competition for the services of qualified candidates, is an obstacle to the development of such specialists, especially at the secondary level. At all levels, in fact, the problem of Lao-language teacher training has to be considered in the context of general teacher training, because of the extreme scarcity of personnel to man the whole system.

As in many of the countries of South-East Asia which have depended in the past on foreign sources to supply teachers and professors, a major effort now must be undertaken by Laos to fill these positions locally. The focus of this effort is in the various teacher-training institutions, which are characteristically at an academic level just barely beyond those at which their graduates are expected to teach. Consequently, 'normal' schools exist not only at the secondary level, but at what is in effect the upper-primary level. The only two tertiary institutions concerned directly with the training of teachers are the Secondary Teachers Section of the Vientiane Pedagogical High School, of which the graduates are destined to teach the first few grades in the *lycées* and the *collèges*, and the Institute of Buddhist Studies, also in Vientiane.

One institution which trains teachers at various levels is the École Supérieure de Pédagogie, located at Dong Dok, just 9 kilometres from the capital. Heavily supported by United States aid, both public and private, this school prepares teachers for rural first-cycle primary schools, for regular full primary schools, for special programmes (e.g., English language), and of the pedagogical centre itself.

2. *French-language teachers*

Since most of the education at levels where the French language is a required course of study is staffed largely by French instructors, it follows that much French-language teaching is still done by native speakers with some degree of training and experience in that subject. For example, of the 142 public secondary-school teachers in 1963, no fewer than 120 were of French nationality. In the transitional period between the Lao and French medium of instruction, however, the critical teaching of French as a language is often done by Laotian teachers who are themselves weak in subject matter, or methodology, or both. (This is perhaps one reason for the remedial pre-secondary year in French.) Although there is a plentiful supply of Laotians whose French is adequate for the teaching task, their other qualifications usually are such that they are not interested in the lowly-paid positions of the upper-primary system.

Since most basic acquisition of French proficiency apparently occurs not only in the language courses but in all subjects between grades 4 and 6, moreover, the standard of French controlled by all teachers (not merely language teachers) at this level is crucial. The Royal Ordinance of 1962 does not include any obvious solution to this problem, which may be the most pressing of all problems created by present language policy.

3. *Supervision*

Both categories of language teachers, Lao and French, are supervised under what is ostensibly the same system, but which in practice is several different systems. One reason for this is the extreme diversity of the various groups involved: from Buddhist monks to regular civil servants to expatriates. The actual practice seems to be that each group is supervised by itself, the most extreme case being the French group, with its close ties to academic centres in the mother country. The Ministry of Education thus is not yet able to exert a unifying influence on the quality of such language instruction as is now being carried on, nor can it plan sensibly for the future. Perhaps the main impetus for integration of supervisory procedures can be expected to come from the teacher-training institutions.

4. *Texts and aids*

Texts for instruction in the Lao language, as has previously been indicated, are in a relatively early stage of development. The comparative simplicity of the writing system makes the acquisition of literacy in the national language fairly easy for those who are already native speakers of it, but there is no remedy in sight for the minority-group children who are not. Attempts to use the Lao-language courses as a vehicle for the inculcation of general culture (a practice much criticized in the case of French-language courses) seem inevitable in the light of the recommendations of the Royal Ordinance of 1962, and are already evident in such materials as already exist. Other non-functional content of the texts includes the usual cherished literary traditions and historical explanations, with much attention to the Pali and Sanskrit origins of vocabulary items.

In the field of audio-visual aids, some use has been made of radio in the teaching of Lao, with the help of a donation of transistor sets from Japan. This kind of instruction, however, is most likely to benefit the adult non-Lao-speaking population which, for one reason or another, missed formal education. Tape-recording equipment is available in quantities all out of proportion to the size of the country, but owing to politico-military conditions and the lack of power sources or other technical factors (such as maintenance), the equipment is concentrated in a few urban centres. It is principally used for the teaching of English and French, not Lao.

Texts for instruction in French (and for that matter, such English as is taught) originate almost entirely outside of Laos. There is considerable diversity in the selection of materials available for the teaching of French for different purposes, but so far no course specifically designed for Laotians. (On the other hand, the South-East Asia Regional English Project has produced such material for the less commonly taught language.) One French series, the Mauger course, however, concentrates on the structure of the language, with minimal cultural content.

F. EFFECTS ON NON-LANGUAGE COURSES

1. *Tertiary education enrolment and staff*

Although Laos has no higher-education institutions as yet, and the numbers of students continuing their education beyond secondary school is only a trickle, some effects of language policy can be observed in relation to the tertiary institutions which exist at present. The 1963 enrolments in these institutions, and the composition of their staffs by nationality, were as shown in Table 19.

TABLE 19. Students and staff of tertiary institutions

Tertiary institution	Students	Total staff	Lao staff
School of Medicine	112	41	15
Royal Institute of Law and Administration	123	23	13
Secondary Teachers Section, Vientiane Pedagogical High School	62	5	1
Institute of Buddhist Studies	153	18	18
TOTAL	450	87	47

Except for the Institute of Buddhist Studies (which had over a third of the tertiary enrolment), practically all courses taught at the tertiary level are taught in French, and this is undoubtedly going to be the pattern of higher education in the near future. The high proportion of expatriate professors (about 60 per cent in the three non-Buddhist institutions, over 45 per cent over-all) is not entirely explained by the language medium, however, since it is doubtful if these staff positions could be filled by qualified Laotians even if the text materials existed (see below). What is clear from the figures, however, is that the use of the French medium is cutting down the enrolment in tertiary education, and must continue to do so in future institutions of higher education which employ that medium.

The 1963 total enrolment in secondary schools was only 3,226. Even if all of these students should continue all the way through the seven years of the secondary cycles, the output of higher-education candidates would still be less than 500 per year. For a country desperately in need of trained personnel, this is a woeful figure. The present number of students in tertiary education is slightly less than the total number of students overseas (450 to 500); if this ratio continues, the number of candidates for local higher education will further be cut in half.

2. *Texts and library facilities*

The most noticeable effect of past and present language policy is the almost total lack of basic textbooks, beyond the first-cycle primary level, or library resources in the national language. The characteristic producers of such texts in the South-East Asian region as a whole are the teachers themselves, who gather their lecture notes together and publish volumes on their specialties. This process occurs even when the specialists are teaching in a foreign-language medium, such as French or English, provided the teacher himself speaks the national language, because in the course of his instruction he nearly always finds it necessary to make explanations in the national language to those of his students who do not understand the foreign language well enough.

Even such a gradual accumulating process of national-language texts is impossible in Laos under the present system, for the simple reason that over 70 per cent of all teachers above the primary level are incapable of writing textbooks in Lao (85 per cent of the secondary teachers, 45 per cent of tertiary teachers). In spite of outside aid designed to stimulate the production of texts in the national language, such as Unesco, United States AID and the private foundations, the amount and quality of material available is still by far the lowest in the whole region. The lack of basic text-books, further, continues to thwart all efforts to extend instruction in the Lao medium upward, even on the modest scale envisioned by the recommendations of the Royal Ordinance. In a very real sense, then, the large numbers of expatriate teachers at the post-primary level are a self-perpetuating body, and can be replaced only by Lao citizens whose command of both subject matter and French is equal to their own.

Such library facilities as exist in Laos, like basic textbooks, are, except in the obvious areas of Lao language and literature, almost entirely of foreign origin. French and English books, periodicals and reference materials far exceed the demands of those capable of utilizing them, and usually remain unread on the shelves.

A partial solution to the scarcity of both basic texts and usable library resources is politically unfeasible at present. A student who reads Lao can also, with very little training, learn to read and understand standard Thai; many Lao students have already learned to do so. Thai materials, while by no means as adequate as their French or English counterparts, could fill part of the gap temporarily, especially in the upper-primary and secondary schools, if it were not for the reluctance of the government to accept them. So far the only known uses of Thai textbooks is in Buddhist lower-primary schools.

IX. Malaysia

A. THE POLICY

1. *History—the official view*

The basic outlines of language policy were laid out in the original Constitution of the Federation of Malaya (1957), Article 152: 'The national language shall be the Malay language and shall be in such script as Parliament may by law provide.[1] Provided that (a) no person shall be prohibited or prevented from using (otherwise than for official purposes), or from teaching or learning, any other language.' Other provisions of this article were authorization for the use of English in Parliament for a period of at least ten years after Independence (i.e., until 1967) and for all other official purposes except the taking of evidence in courts. (English was prescribed, not merely authorized, as the written language of bills in Parliament.)

Seven years later, in 1964, all the provisions of this article are being scrupulously honoured. Both Malay and English remain the official languages of the country—Malay supported, English permitted. There has been no suppression of the use of Chinese and Indian languages for unofficial purposes; in fact, the teaching of these other languages was federally subsidized through the secondary level until 1956, and is still subsidized at the primary level. The past trend of all official acts has been a gradual phasing out of support for the non-official languages in favour of the two official ones, rather than an abrupt rejection of the former. The future trend is equally clear: the phasing out of English as well. Perhaps acting in response to the original constitutional ten-year period (which was a minimum rather than a maximum, however) the intention is to establish Malay as the sole official language by

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[1] It provided for Rumi, or Roman, rather than for Jawi, an Arabic-type script.

1967 (except in the two Borneo states, where an additional extension of ten years is contemplated).

In the field of education, the two most important documents from the linguistic point of view, are reports of education review committees known as the Razak Report (1956) and the Rahman Talib Report (1960). The pertinent recommendations of the Razak Report, and subsequent actions of the Education Ordinance of 1957, have to do with the establishment of the Language Institute and the Literature Agency (see Section B below), with the training of teachers of Malay, and with encouraging the study of Malay by various means, including compulsory courses, admission requirements, bursaries and bonuses, and government service qualifications. The Rahman Report summarizes past progress in these areas and recommends further target dates for the completion of programmes relating to the encouragement of Malay study; it also emphasizes teacher training very strongly.

2. *The outside view*

Another way of looking at the same set of data might be the following.

Since Independence the policy of the Government of the Federation of Malaya (and subsequently of all Malaysia) has consistently exhibited two different, but not contradictory, trends in regard to language matters: first, concentrated (but often short-term) efforts to promote the national language, Malay, in preference to the vernaculars, as a means of unifying a multiracial society; and second, a long-term emphasis on replacing with Malay even the well-established linguae francae and languages of wider international communication not spoken natively by significant numbers of the population (see Section C below). While these two aspects of the policy present entirely separate problems of execution, they do share the common feature of propagating the national language within the country and hence tend to be thought of in terms of a single task.

The first trend is characterized by official appeals to all sections of the non-Malay-speaking community to support the national language, by abolition of certain kinds of services (mainly educational, but others as well) formerly available in the vernaculars, the holding of national-language 'weeks' and 'months', withdrawal of financial support from non-co-operating semi-official organizations, and insistence that the conduct of all internal business be in the national language. Such efforts are ostensibly directed toward all ethnic groups alike, but it is invariably the Chinese community which responds most vehemently, whether by conspicuous compliance or indignation and defiance. The establishment of the larger federation of Malaysia did nothing to allay the suspicions of the Chinese ethnic group, because there was frequent reference in the press and in other semi-official media to the necessity for 'off-setting' the million-plus Chinese of Singapore with the racially (but not linguistically) more homogeneous contribution of Sarawak and Sabah to the new country.

Whether the Chinese community regards linguistic reforms dispassionately, as efforts to unify the country, or angrily as instruments directed specifically against itself makes little difference. It is clear that this aspect of national policy is a firm and continuing one, delayed in implementation, perhaps, but not to be abandoned.

The second trend is characterized by long-term activities of many kinds, involving several different agencies (see Section B below), which have as their common theme the development of the national language to the point where it can take over most of the functions of languages of wider currency now used for various purposes within the country. This applies not only to the standard world languages, English and Mandarin in particular, but also to the simplified versions of English, Hokkien, Cantonese, Tamil and perhaps even Malay itself. Whereas such languages are employed for intercultural, rather than intracultural, communication, the intention is to replace them with the standardized national language, whether the context is the university or the market-place.

If the Chinese community reacts sharply to the first phase of the policy, the English-speaking community reacts with equal sharpness to the second. Both first-language and second-language users of English tend to see its replacement by Malay as a threat to a whole cultural heritage, if not a way of life. Second-language users may see it, in addition, as a threat to the costly investment, in terms of both time and money, that they have made in the acquisition of the language. Neither group is quite sure that a knowledge of English will continue to be the valuable economic commodity that it is at present, if the policy is eventually carried out to its fullest extent.

That it will be carried out is not quite as clear as in the first instance (the replacement of vernaculars). The history of language policy in the Federation of Malaya, and during the short existence of Malaysia, indicates that although official and unofficial measures may encounter temporary resistance and have to be delayed beyond their original target dates, in the long run they tend to succeed. In any event, we have assumed (see under sub-section 1 above) that there will be no further change in the policy itself.

3. *Special effects on education*

The past effects of language policy have been most noticeable at the lower levels of education; the future effects may well be most noticeable in the universities themselves.

The secondary schools have felt the greatest impact, and although the traditional four-stream system (instruction in Malay, English, Chinese and Tamil media) is still in force in the primary schools, a reaction is clearly observable there in terms of enrolment of new students. In 1958 secondary-school examinations in Tamil were discontinued, and simultaneously real secondary education (other than teacher and vocational training) was introduced for the first time in the Malay medium. Since 1960 the Chinese secondary stream has begun to dwindle, not so much because of lack of facilities as because of difficulties of access to higher education and desirable employment.

There is some evidence that Chinese students are transferring in large numbers to the English medium, and Indian students to both the English and Malay media. There is no evidence as yet that either the Chinese or the Tamil stream will dry up entirely, but there are some indications that the latter is in danger. On the other hand, the increase in the Malay stream is clearly due to increased opportunities for graduates, both in higher education and in employment, deliberately created by government policy. For example, in 1965 Malay-medium instruction will be offered for the first time at the University of Malaya, whereas formerly the university offered only language and literature subjects in the national language. (Chinese-medium higher education has long been available at Nanyang University and is now available at Ngee Ann College, both institutions being in Singapore.)

The English stream has traditionally been the largest source of university students, and still is. By far the majority of courses offered at the universities of Singapore and Malaya (even in some language and literature departments) are in the English medium. That the policy of establishing Malay as the sole official language by 1967 will have limited application to this situation has been indicated by none other than the Prime Minister himself. Speaking at the first convocation of the University of Malaya ever held in the national language (1964), he said: 'This (the policy) should not interfere with the education of the university or the language used to provide such education.' It is also apparent that few of the non-Malay-speaking staff are seriously considering the idea of becoming proficient enough in the national language to deliver lectures in it.

Nevertheless, future effects of language policy will certainly be felt at the university level, even if the medium of instruction remains predominantly English. As more and more students from the Malay stream enter higher education, the question of preparation of students becomes more and more critical. Not only their preparation in language is involved, but their general preparation; so far, texts in the Malay medium cannot match, in quality or quantity, the material available in English in any subject (other than local history, geography and humanities). This is, in effect, one of the chief tasks facing the various agencies constituted to carry out national-language development and policy, which we will consider in the next section.

4. *The nature of the national language*

In order to understand the meaning of the policy it is first necessary to establish the identity of the two languages specifically involved. In the case of English, the task is relatively simple; the oral variety is standard British English, and the written variety is that which is acceptable in United Kingdom schools and eventually leads to the Cambridge School Certificate. In the case of the national language, it is somewhat more complicated, unless one accepts the kind of definition proposed in our assumptions (see Chapter I, Section B, paragraph 7).

Domestic and foreign scholars agree that standard Malay (Bahasa Melayu) and the national language (Bahasa Kebangsaan) are one and the same thing, and that the difference in terminology reflects merely a difference in emphasis of the purpose for which the language is used. The national language is, in fact, structurally based on the same spoken dialect of Malay as is standard Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia). Points of variance in pronunciation and grammar are few; points of variance in spelling are relatively unimportant (and do not, in most cases, reflect differences in pronunciation, but are simply different writing conventions). Some Malayan linguists hold that the differences between the national languages of Malaysia and Indonesia are of the same order as the differences between American and British English.

The variance is most strongly perceived at the vocabulary level. The deliberate development of Indonesian terminology has been going on for a much longer time than that of Malay, and Indonesian is hence better equipped at present with a ready-made technical vocabulary. Perhaps because of international politics, perhaps of internal political considerations, or both, the developers of Malay have chosen to go their own way, in preference to adopting Indonesian words wholesale. A conscious effort is being made to give the national language of Malaysia a distinctive character, and this effort could be said to be an integral part of national-language policy.

B. THE INSTRUMENTS OF POLICY

The chief official agencies charged with carrying out the government's policy with regard to language matters are the language and literature agency (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka) and the language institute, both located in Kuala Lumpur, and both reporting to the Ministry of Education. Among the most influential, but unofficial, other instruments of language policy are the universities, which are not subordinate to the Ministry of Education, and the communications media, of which only the radio and television media are governmentally controlled.

1. *The Dewan Bahasa*

The language and literature agency was established in 1957, and reconstituted as an independent body in 1959, for the express purpose of 'enriching, promoting and developing the national language'. At first housed in rather unpretentious quarters and with a skeleton staff, it now occupies an imposing new structure in a convenient location not far from central Kuala Lumpur, and is amply financed and staffed for the purely advisory purposes for which it was originally intended. But the Dewan has embarked, in the meantime, on a number of substantive projects of its own which will require countless man-hours for completion, and might be said to be dangerously over-extending its resources.

The present director is Tuan Syed Nasir, who oversees a complex of activities including dictionary, atlas and encyclopaedia projects, extensive textbook compilation and translation, plus editing, research and terminology sections. The agency is also directly involved in the teaching of Malay, through textbook production and the sponsoring of language instruction on its premises.

The terminology section, with a permanent staff of only six, oversees the formation of new Malay vocabulary items, their compilation and publication.

The count of new terms introduced has risen from 1,328, in 1957, to 43,139 in 1964, but the task is far from over. The section is advised in its work by eighteen separate committees of experts in various fields, some of which meet as often as twice a week. The resulting new terminology (usually 60-100 items) is published tentatively at the beginning of each month in an official organ of the agency, for potential criticism and review by other technical and language experts. Final results are to be published topically in the form of booklets—some which have already come out cover the subjects of government administration, engineering, and official correspondence (the last is a style manual).

Decisions on terminology tend to favour the use of Malay roots and morphemes wherever possible. There is no special bias, however, against the adaptation in suitable phonetic form of modern international vocabulary, especially in the scientific fields. Even Indonesian words are frequently taken over, with suitable spelling modifications, to fill certain kinds of gaps. Loan-translation is a relatively rare technique. Occasional items are derived from Indic (Sanskrit, Pali, etc.) and Arabic sources, but rarely directly from other classical languages.

The terminology section also has close ties with two encyclopaedia projects (science and junior encyclopaedias), with the atlas project, and it works in conjunction with the translation section. The latter has a permanent staff of eighteen and concentrates on textbooks, but also is engaged in the translation of world classics into Malay, which is not entirely for pedagogical purposes. The editing section corrects and adapts, rather than translates, and part of its work is apparently the conversion of Indonesian texts to Malay orthography and stylistics.

The research section, with a staff of eight, does two quite separate kinds of research. The first is historical and philological in character; ancient Malay texts are transliterated and edited for eventual publication in literature textbooks. The second kind of research is descriptive in character; work is done on modern dialects and literature, including both folk literature preserved to the present day in oral form and novels by modern writers. Most of this output is destined for secondary-school literature courses, but some may reach the university. (The head of the research section is a graduate in linguistics from the University of Malaya, and several staff members have also had training in linguistics.)

The publication target date for the Dewan Bahasa's dictionary, at least in concise form, is currently 1967. A Dutch linguist, A. Teeuw, has been hired as temporary consultant. The first volume will be Malay-Malay, but later Malay-English and English-Malay versions will be issued. No new grammar projects are foreseen, either in the form of traditional grammars or structural descriptions of spoken Malay. The grammar currently recommended (but not produced) by the age[illegible] of 'Zaba' (Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad), called *Pelita Bahasa Melayu*.

Altogether, the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka has published 4.5 million copies of books in the last year alone. The steady advance of secondary-school education in the Malay medium is the chief reason for the demand, and the agency has yet to come to grips with higher-education problems.

2. *The language institute*

This agency was originally established in 1958, as the result of a specific recommendation of the Razak Report (paragraphs 19-21) which called for 'a language institute which shall perform two functions: (a) training teachers of the Malay language; (b) carrying on research into languages [note plural] in Malaya and the teaching of them'. The first embodiment of the institute was in a teachers' training college in Johore Bahru, but the present buildings on the outskirts of Petaling Jaya, near Kuala Lumpur, were completed in 1959 and the institute moved into them. Besides the administration building and lecture halls, there is a hostel for students, all of whom are residents and hold scholarships with government stipends.

Although research was clearly indicated in the original proposal, and the treatment of languages other than Malay, the language institute is today simply a teacher-training institution, one of several in the Federation. It is not even restricted to Malay-language teaching, but includes in its curriculum all those subjects which are to be taught in the Malay-medium secondary schools. The demand for teachers in the ever-growing Malay secondary stream is so great that the country must exploit every possibility to provide them. The institute has apparently fallen victim to this exigency in spite of its aspirations.

At first, the institute did concentrate on the training of teachers of language, and up to 1962 performed this function not only in Malay, but in English, Chinese and Tamil as well. Research, also, was conducted in the early years, but gradually the staff engaged in these activities drifted away to other employment—some to the universities, some to the Dewan Bahasa and other governmental agencies. Although the original intention was apparently to have the language institute do the actual compilation of language texts, and the Dewan Bahasa merely to publish and promulgate them, the latter agency is now the sole official producer of such texts. Some of its staff are graduates of the institute.

At present the only real connexion of the institute with the development of the national language is the participation of its staff members on various committees, notably the terminology committees of the Dewan Bahasa. The institute also co-operates and shares a few programmes with other teacher-training colleges, especially the Malayan Teachers' College, which is located nearby. Since its contributions to the implementation of national-language policy are mainly in the fields of teacher training, materials, and methodology, the language institute's activities will be treated under those appropriate headings.

3. *The universities*

Although the universities are not instruments of national-language policy in the strictest sense of the term, they do exert an influence on linguistic matters, especially in the field of research. In addition, university graduates are among those who find themselves often in positions of executive responsibility in the government, and their thinking is very much influenced by the climate of opinion which prevailed at the universities during their undergraduate days. Since all such graduates (except those of Nanyang University) were educated in the English medium, moreover, the attitudes of English speakers toward national-language reform are quite commonly found among them.

A few university professors, including some in Malay studies, are quite active in language-policy circles—for example, serving on boards and committees of the Dewan Bahasa. Most of them, however, do not consider the question of promoting, enriching and developing the national language as their own concern. Relations between the departments of the University of Malaya most concerned and the Dewan Bahasa are on the whole smooth, but there is a certain amount of duplication of effort and staffing resources among the university, the Dewan and the language institute.

Purely linguistic research of all types—descriptive, comparative and historical—is being carried out by professors and students in the departments of Malay studies, Indian studies and in linguistics itself, where the emphasis is on the rapidly disappearing aboriginal languages of Malaya. At Nanyang University, there is some research in Chinese, and a lively interest in the techniques of applied linguistics in connexion with the teaching of languages other than Chinese.

At the suggestion of a University of Malaya professor, the preparation of teachers at the form VI level in the Malay content of their subjects is already openly proposed, and accepted in principle. The influence of higher education on the implementation of language policy, all things considered, is not entirely negative.

4. *The communications media*

Like the universities, the communications media do not play an official role in the carrying out of government language policy. They do exert, however, an enormous influence on such matters as language-learning opportunity, standardization and development of Malay, motivation for learning Malay, and the general accessibility of information, both printed and spoken. On the whole, the communications media sincerely try to co-operate with the Dewan Bahasa, but the peculiar emergencies of their work often prevent them from doing so.

Malayan radio has traditionally carried programmes in four language channels: Malay, English, Chinese (the particular language varying with the locality) and Tamil. In Singapore, as late as 1960, there were news broadcasts in nine different languages, six of which were Chinese. Television is relatively new on the scene; at present the programmes are principally in English and Malay. Despite the fact that radio and television are subject to governmental control, there seems to be no radical change in linguistic policy contemplated at the present time. There is a gradual tendency, however, to increase the time of the Malay programme at the expense of the Chinese and Tamil periods. Station announcements are usually made in Malay regardless of programme content.

Movies are shown mainly in English-, Chinese- (Cantonese and Mandarin), and Indian-language media. There are very few Malay films and, of course, Indonesian products are unavailable.

In the Federation there are three daily newspapers published in Malay (i.e., either Jawi or Rumi): two in Kuala Lumpur and one in Penang. Their circulation is much smaller than any of the more numerous English- and Chinese-language newspapers, and probably much smaller than the Malay radio audience. They share with radio and television, however, the problem of terminology and standardization. Because of the slowness of the Dewan Bahasa's output of terms, it is sometimes necessary for them to forge ahead on their own, and hope that the words they devise will eventually be approved. Such is the power of the communications media, however, that their coinages have a greater tendency to stick, even without codification in official lists.

The same predicament affects the private publishers of textbooks, of whom there are no fewer than three firms in Kuala Lumpur alone. Confronted by an impatient demand, and perhaps less concerned with national-language policy questions than any governmental agency, they flood the market with books containing new terms in bewildering variety. Some do not even make a show of finding out whether approved terminology exists before rushing into print with new items. Others simply reissue hastily-edited Indonesian texts.

5. *Summary*

There is really only one agency of government whose sole official duty is the implementation of language policy: the Dewan Bahasa. Overburdened with work and overextended in staff, it does the best it can in the face of tremendous odds. The teacher-training colleges play an important but smaller role, especially in the building of the Malay-stream secondary-education system. The universities play a peripheral role, but exert influence at the levels where decisions are made. Some of the gap is filled by private enterprise, book publishers in particular.

In the meantime, the non-Malay-speaking part of the populace goes on listening to Chinese radio broadcasts, seeing Indian movies and reading English newspapers. While this is certainly in the spirit of the original wording in the Constitution (see first paragraph of this chapter), it does very little to further the cause of the national language.

C. ETHNIC GROUPS AND MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION

Malaysia is often referred to as a multiracial nation. There are indeed several different ethnic strains in the population, but what is meant by the term 'multiracial' can be, for most purposes, restated as 'multicultural'—that is, the total culture of the nation is readily divisible into four sub-cultures: the Malay, the Chinese, the Indian and the European. This division is reflected at the lower levels of the educational system in four 'streams', depending on the language used as the medium of instruction. These languages are the national language, Mandarin, Tamil and English, respectively.

Of the four main sub-cultures, the Malay has the greatest degree of linguistic homogeneity. (Although the aboriginal inhabitants of the country are usually classified ethnically as 'Malay', only one of the three main groups is linguistically affiliated with the Malays. But the total number of aborigines is small.) Except in the new States of Sabah and Sarawak, most people classified as 'Malays' can communicate and interact easily with each other, at least orally. The Chinese may be ethnically homogeneous, but linguistically they are the most diverse group: at least ten languages are represented, of which Mandarin (the medium of instruction in Chinese schools) is one of the least common, in spite of its great prestige as the national language of two important political entities. The Indian sub-culture is linguistically divided into two separate camps, representing the Dravidian and Indo-Iranian language families, and is further fragmented by racial, religious and economic factors. Tamil (the medium of instruction in Indian schools) is, however, the native language of at least three-quarters of the sub-culture. The European sub-culture includes not only recent arrivals from the West, but native Malaysian groups such as the 'Straits Chinese', the Portuguese of Malacca, South Asians in several areas, and many other people whose native language is English.[1]

Other factors, however, besides cultural and linguistic diversity, determine the composition of the streams. The Tamil stream dies up at the secondary level. The others continue upward to the university, although for the Mandarin stream the choice of university is pretty much limited to Nanyang, and the Malay stream has not quite reached the university level as yet. Teacher-training and vocational institutes for all three major streams are available above the secondary level, but the main road to university education is still definitely through the English channel.

Enrolment in the streams other than English nearly always is linguistically or culturally determined. Few students, proportionately, in the national language, Mandarin and Tamil streams are from non-Malay, non-Chinese and non-Indian backgrounds. In the case of Chinese students, the choice of the Mandarin stream is much more culturally determined than linguistically, because the great majority of students have to be taught to understand the language of instruction from the very beginning of primary school. In this sense, the Chinese stream is like the English stream: few pupils come to school with the medium of oral instruction in hand. It is not surprising, then, that in the past so many Chinese families have chosen to send their children to the English-medium schools in preference to their 'own' schools; the economic motive may not have been the only factor.

Besides the languages used as media of instruction in the schools, Malaysia has four important pidgin dialects which serve as the linguae francae of different areas. These are 'bazaar Malay', which is the most widespread, pidgin Hokkien (Singapore and Penang), pidgin Cantonese (Kuala Lumpur and Singapore), and pidgin English (all urban areas). There has been some pidginizing of Tamil by other Dravidian speakers, but this form of Tamil does not qualify as a lingua franca.

Looking at this multicultural society of Malaysia from the purely linguistic point of view, by considering what languages are spoken as first languages by how many people, we see that there are six (not four) main groups of related languages.[2] If we use a rounded-off figure of 11 million for the total population, at least 75 per cent of the first-language speakers belong to the first two families listed below:

1. Western Malayo-Polynesian (a sub-family) has at least 4 million speakers[3]

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[1] See Robert B. Le Page, *Multilingualism in Malaya*, Brazzaville, July/August 1962.

[2] Figures on numbers of speakers are estimated from several sources, principally the official census of Singapore (1957), Sarawak (1960), Sabah (1960), and the Le Page report on the Federation. Some rough projection has been made to cover expected population increase to the present.

[3] Figures do not include speakers of Malay as a lingua franca ('bazaar Malay') or as a second language.

of which at least 75 per cent speak one of the dialects of the language we have chosen to call Malay/Indonesian. Important other languages of the sub-family are Iban (Sarawak), Kadazan (Sabah), Javanese and Boyanese (Singapore), and perhaps Minangkabau (Federation; possibly mutually intelligible with Malay).

2. Chinese languages also claim at least 4 million speakers,[1] of which at least 75 per cent speak one of the following: Hokkien (over 30 per cent), Cantonese, Tiechiu and Hakka (all over 15 per cent). The remaining languages are Hailam (Hainanese), Hockchiu (Foochow), Kwongsai, Henghua, Shanghai and Mandarin, listed in approximate order of importance; only the first two have as many as 100,000 speakers (Hailam 210,000, Hockchiu 150,000).
3. The Dravidian family accounts for less than 1 million speakers,[2] of whom about 85 per cent are speakers of Tamil. The other two important languages are Malayalam and Telugu, both with less than 100,000 speakers.
4. Indo-Iranian (a sub-family of Indo-European) has less than 150,000 speakers, the important languages being Punjabi, Sinhalese, Hindi/Urdu, Bengali and Gujerati. The first two may account for as much as two-thirds of the total number of Indo-Iranian speakers.
5. Germanic (another sub-family of Indo-European) accounts for less than 100,000 speakers,[3] of which the vast majority are speakers of English. The other languages involved are Dutch, German and the Scandinavian group.
6. Thai languages are used by less than 25,000 people, virtually all of them speakers of dialects of Thai (Siamese) itself.

If we look only at single languages (not families or sub-families, but groups of mutually intelligible dialects, see Chapter I, Section B, paragraphs 1 and 2) and their approximate numbers of native speakers, the following ranking emerges: Malay, 3.5 million; Hokkien, 1.3 million; Cantonese, 900,000; Hakka, 700,000; Tiechiu, 700,000; Tamil, 700,000. We can see at a glance that Malay has a clear plurality within the country, although it is by no means the majority language. Its only rivals, from the broader linguistic point of view, are writing systems (Chinese characters), a number of well-established linguae francae (Hokkien, Cantonese, English) and second languages (Mandarin, English).

D. LANGUAGE COURSES AND THEIR OBJECTIVES

1. *The national language, Malay*

Courses in the national language have been compulsory for all streams from

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[1] Figures do not include speakers of Hokkien and Cantonese as linguae francae, or of any Chinese language as a second language.

[2] Even if speakers of Tamil as a lingua franca or second language were included, the total figure would still probably not exceed 1 million.

[3] Figures do not include speakers of English as a lingua franca or second language.

1957 onwards, at least in State-supported schools, thus providing an opportunity and a kind of motivation for every child to learn Malay. Another kind of opportunity, especially for those who might have missed it in earlier schooling, has been granted in the form of free instruction through the Further Education Scheme and other plans. Other kinds of motivation for non-Malay students have been supplied through the requirement of a pass in Malay for the Lower Certificate examination (LCE) certificate, the giving of governmental service examinations in the Malay medium, and the establishment of compulsory Malay courses in the teacher-training colleges, regardless of medium.

Malay is almost never taught to non-Malays as a new medium of instruction. The purpose has usually been to teach the language to non-native speakers either as a means of passing a specific examination or for academic purposes. A simplified approach has been used, and the subject is usually called 'national language' (Bahasa Kebangsaan) rather than 'Malay' (Bahasa Melayu). The favoured text materials are those provided by the Dewan Bahasa and private publishers, which consist largely of orthography manuals, grammar-and-exercise manuals, conversation manuals and (for more advanced students) readers. The favoured methods of presentation are recitation, both group and individual, often with audio-visual aids, class assignments, plus some translation and lecturing.

Although there is plenty of oral practice for the student in such courses, the emphasis is clearly on the written language and vocabulary. He is not really taught to communicate in Malay, but to pass an examination or make a speech. Even where the national language is taught to prospective teachers of it in the non-Malay streams (e.g., at the Malayan Teachers' College in Kuala Lumpur), the emphasis is the same except for the addition of the pedagogic point of view: now the student must learn how to teach others to pass examinations and make speeches. Courses of this type are not offered in the universities, except at the Chinese-medium Nanyang University, where a somewhat more structural and oral approach is attempted.

When the national language is taught to native speakers, on the other hand, the purposes are mainly standardization of oral habits, inculcation of the two writing systems (Rumi and Jawi) as a means of instruction in other subjects, and expansion of vocabulary. The course is apt to be called 'Malay', and the texts (except the orthography manuals) are not simplified. Many are commercial in origin. Readers are introduced from the earliest primary grades. The methods of presentation are about the same, except that translation is not a factor. The student is assumed to know the basic structure and vocabulary of the spoken language before he comes to school, and needs only to have certain faults corrected. (In the case of a few dialects of the eastern coast and that of Kedah, this assumption may not be fully warranted.) Otherwise, after he has learned to read, he spends his time expanding his vocabulary and his academic understanding of the language. If he is in the

Malay medium (and most are) he gets plenty of oral and written Malay practice in other subjects.

Nevertheless, students of Malay background who have been in the Malay stream all the way can and do fail to achieve the Malay Certificate; they are awarded the National Language Certificate instead. (Those who pass get both certificates; non-Malays ordinarily get only the National Language Certificate.) In the Malay-medium teacher-training colleges (e.g., the language institute) prospective teachers are not admitted unless they have a relatively high standing in Malay, and their instruction is actually weighted in the direction of methodology.

In the universities (except Nanyang), courses in Malay are not, strictly speaking, language courses, but have a broader literary and cultural base. No one can qualify for them who is not linguistically well prepared, and there are in fact very few students in the Departments of Malay Studies who are not native speakers of the language. It is planned, however, to institute a programme for non-Malays at the University of Malaya starting next year, which will offer actual language instruction.

2. *The language of higher education, English*

English is also a compulsory subject in nearly all schools,[1] even where it is not the medium of instruction. Unlike Malay, it is also widely taught to non-native speakers as a future medium of instruction, not only in the English-stream schools, where its application is immediate, but in the national-language and vernacular-medium schools, where it is expected to be used at least as a research tool and perhaps also as a later medium of instruction. Since very few of the pupils in any stream are native speakers, the methods and texts used, while existing in every category, do not vary as greatly from school to school, and there is no dichotomy of purpose as is the case with national-language teaching.

Even so, throughout the primary and secondary levels the pace of instruction is much faster in the English-medium schools, where there is constant reinforcement of the language-learning process in other subjects. (In fact, the English-medium lower-primary school, except for arithmetic, might be said to be entirely a language-learning operation.) In spite of the wealth of text materials available for the teaching of English, there is surprisingly little variation in the types used for fast and slow learning. There are perhaps two reasons for this: (a) all students are being prepared for basically the same kind of examination, though at different levels of difficulty, and (b) most English teachers, no matter how adequate their command of spoken and written English may be, feel insecure about departing from the rigidly prescribed curriculum to go after results in pure communication skills.

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[1] The main exceptions are only theoretical ones. For example, in Singapore, students may choose not only the language medium but the second language as well. In practice, however, English is always included.

In all types of English courses, however, there is considerably more emphasis on the spoken language and more widespread use of audio-visual aids than in the corresponding types of Malay instruction. Undoubtedly the explanation lies in the wealth of world-wide experience in the teaching of English to both native and non-native speakers. The effects are clearly visible in the teacher-training colleges. Where prospective English-medium teachers are being trained (as at the Malay Teachers' College in Kuala Lumpur) the opportunities for practice teaching under supervision are numerous, and include the experience of using many different methods and materials which emphasize the spoken language.

As in the case of Malay, English courses given at the universities of Singapore and Malaya have literary and broader linguistic purposes, are not basic-language courses, and are restricted in enrolment to students whose command of English is already very good. This may change, of course, as Malay-stream graduates begin to come in large numbers to the universities. At Nanyang University, English is required of all first-year students. It is remedial, and reportedly little progress is made in the sections of up to forty students meeting three times weekly.

3. *The formal language of the Chinese community, Mandarin*

Mandarin is not a required subject except in the Chinese-stream institutions of all levels. In Chinese schools considerable emphasis must be placed on the oral aspects, since it is to become the principal medium or oral as well as written instruction. The term 'Gwoyu' is used for the (allegedly) simplified version of Mandarin taught to children and adults who do not speak it natively; Gwoyu is said to be free from Peking dialect peculiarities. Group recitation is widely used, both for speaking and reading lessons. In the teaching of the written language, although an attempt is made to restrict the number of characters required for the various levels of instruction, the memory-load is still enormous. For example, Singapore Chinese-medium primary-school students must learn up to 5,000 characters; primary students only taking Mandarin as a second language must learn up to 3,000. Not only character recognition, but elementary calligraphy has to be taught as well.

University courses are offered by the Chinese departments of all three universities. In no case are these really basic-language courses, but they are sometimes subscribed by students from non-Chinese streams who want the language as a research tool; naturally, the instruction of such students is at a lower level than that of their Chinese-stream colleagues, but the purposes of the courses are comparable. The higher-education curriculum as a whole includes the usual literary, philological and other subject matter found in typical language departments. Although Nanyang is numerically the leader in this field of university specialization, the universities of Singapore and Malaya also have strong Chinese offerings. Nanyang, incidentally, also has plans to set up a basic Mandarin programme for non-Chinese students, as soon as a tape laboratory has been acquired.

4. *The majority language of the Indian community, Tamil*

Since most pupils speak the language of instruction, emphasis is on standardization of oral habits, inculcation of the writing system as a means of access to other subjects, and expansion of vocabulary. Literacy is generally achieved in only two or three years, although the alphabet is a relatively complex one of the Indic type. In the lower schools, the texts are orthography manuals, readers and grammar-and-exercise manuals (many of them imported from India and Ceylon). The methods of presentation stress individual recitation, and there is little translation to any other language involved. In higher education, Tamil courses stress literary content when taught to previous learners, but are also taught as elementary courses to beginning students who elect them.

Tamil is not a compulsory subject in any other stream, but may be required by departments of Indic studies, where it is a research tool. In Singapore public schools, where not only the medium of instruction but the second language may be elected by pupils, Tamil is actually gaining ground as a language course among pupils who have switched streams (i.e., Tamil to English).

5. *Other languages*

Languages besides those already mentioned are taught as beginning courses, but only in the universities and a few colleges and specialized institutes. Of the world languages, French, German and Russian are usually well subscribed; Arabic is taught in universities and religious institutions, usually in connexion with Islamic studies. Other languages include Japanese, Dutch and Thai; there seems to be a considerable demand for still additional offerings, such as Portuguese, Modern Javanese, Cantonese and Hindi/Urdu. (It is noteworthy that in this list of languages, all but German and Russian have regional connotations—the remaining two are mainly in demand among science students.) Japanese, interestingly enough, is taught at Nanyang University with Chinese as the medium of instruction.

6. *Summary*

Table 20 summarizes the chief purposes for which languages are taught in Malaysia.

TABLE 20. Chief purposes of languages taught

Language type	Spoken	Written
Malay	To native speakers for standardization purposes	To native speakers as a medium of written instruction
	To non-native speakers as a prerequisite for (a)	(a) To all learners as an academic subject, or to satisfy a requirement
English	To virtually all learners as a prerequisite for (b) and (c)	(b) To all learners as an academic subject, or to satisfy a requirement
	To some learners as a new medium of oral instruction	(c) To some learners as a new medium of written instruction
	To a few native speakers for standardization purposes	To previous learners for remedial purposes
	To previous learners for remedial purposes	To some learners as a research tool
Mandarin	To virtually all learners as a prerequisite for (d) and (e)	(d) To most learners as a medium of written instruction
	To most learners as a new medium of oral instruction	(e) To many learners as an academic subject or research tool
	To previous learners for remedial purposes	To previous learners for remedial purposes
Tamil	To native speakers for standardization purposes	(f) To most learners as a new medium of written instruction and to satisfy a requirement
	To a few non-native speakers as a prerequisite for (f) and (g)	(g) To some learners as an academic subject or research tool
Arabic, Japanese, German, Russian, Thai, French, Dutch, etc.	To virtually all learners as prerequisites for (h) and (i)	(h) To most learners as research tools
	To a few learners for communication purposes	(i) To a few learners as academic or required subjects, or for cultural reasons

E. LANGUAGE-TEACHING RESOURCES

In general, English and Chinese language-teaching resources tend to be strong on the materials side, while Malay and Tamil resources tend to be strong on the staff side. This situation is one which is not entirely unexpected, in view of the quantity of instruction which goes on in various parts of the world in the first two languages, and the plentiful supply of educated native speakers available in the second two. It should be pointed out, however, that the same situation does not particularly apply at the top of the pyramid, in the universities, both because of the very different character of university courses and because of the extremely individual character of the professional staff engaged in teaching them.

The major concern of national educational policy at all levels is, of course, with English and Malay teaching, since these are still the two official languages. While educational authorities are fully aware of the shortage of qualified English teachers, the comparative newness of secondary education in the Malay medium makes it difficult for them to judge (given the existing academic standards system) whether deficiencies in Malay instruction are principally due to insufficient staff or insufficient materials. At present, there is an inclination to adopt the former view.

1. *Staff: training and supervision*

Since both Malay- and English-language instruction is part of the basic primary and secondary curriculum for all streams, considerable emphasis is placed on preparing prospective teachers in the content and methodology of these subjects at all the teacher-training institutions. In two such institutions, the language institute (see Section B.2 above) and the Malayan Teachers' College, the intending teachers specialize in these subjects.

The language institute trains teachers for Malay-medium schools only. Entrance is by Cambridge Overseas School Certificate (OSC), its local equivalent (FMC), or the Malay-medium version (SPP) of the latter, but in all cases a special requirement is the credit in Malay ('B' average). Candidates are selected by interview from panels previously selected by six boards located throughout the country. Occasionally the Malay credit requirement is waived conditionally, but the candidates must be citizens of Malaysia and must have had their secondary education within the country.

Graduates are eventually destined for upper-primary and lower-secondary schools, but at present all are being sent to secondary schools. The two-year course of study at the institute includes Malay studies (a main subject) and language studies (English) in both years. Practice teaching is done in both language subjects, under the supervision of the institute's staff. In Malay studies, a full-scale paper must be written, and there is an examination at the end of each year. Both teaching method and content are emphasized, and an interesting portion of the content is the comparison of Malay and Indonesian. In English, the emphasis is more on content, and in some cases the instruction might even be said to be remedial. (In any event, there has been no concentration on English literature since 1963.) English classes meet three times a week, twice in sections of twenty-four students each for drill, and once in a single seventy-two-student section for lectures.

In both Malay and English syllabuses, the written language receives most of the attention. Examinations in Malay stress essay- and comprehension-type questions in Malay, to be answered in Malay. Written English is used not only for that subject, but to answer examination questions on subjects lectured in Malay. Oral practice, however, is much more frequent in English than in Malay.

The language institute has a (proposed) staff of twenty-eight lecturers, including two principal lecturers and seven senior lecturers, and is slowly working toward a departmental structure. Like the other teacher-training institutions (e.g., the Malayan Teachers' College), its staff is selected through the Public Service Commission and appointed by the Ministry of Education. The principal source of teaching staff is the University of Malaya, but there are also some experienced teachers from other schools, and a few foreign-educated lecturers. Most of the language institute staff have had overseas tours, and are active in such fields as textbook production and research.

The Malayan Teachers' College principally trains teachers for English-medium schools. Unlike the institute, the minimum requirement for entrance is the OSC, and preference is shown to candidates with language credits. Some enter with Cambridge certificates; nearly all are extremely well qualified in English. There are from 150 to 180 students entering annually, divided up into units of thirty each. One such unit comes each year from the Chinese stream, the remainder from the English stream.

The course of study is for two years, and the basic subjects include two language courses: the national language (for non-Malay students) and English (except for the Chinese unit). There are no languages taught as main subjects, but the electives include library science (the latter being included also as an elective at the language institute). Examinations are given at the end of the first year, with results being counted towards certification, but the full-scale examination in each subject is given at the end of the second year. Ten failures (out of 150-180) is average for a main subject, but re-examination within three months is possible.

The Malayan Teachers' College has an actual staff of twenty-six lecturers, of whom two are senior, but the staffing scheme is being reviewed by the Ministry of Education. Most of the lecturers, except in physical education, are university graduates; there are a half dozen expatriates (including two temporary lecturers from the United States Peace Corps).

The situation at the Malayan Teachers' College with regard to emphasis in language courses is, predictably, almost the reverse of the situation at the language institute, but with a significant difference. The English courses stress methodology, and practice teaching is done under an excellent supervisory system. The national-language courses stress content—the content being the requirements of the syllabus, which for students from the English and Chinese streams is no easy task. The instruction is done in large groups, and the method is a combination of lecture and reading-recitation. The difference (with respect to the language institute) is that even the prospective English teachers, although quite fluent and capable in their subject, are inevitably doomed to pass on some faulty structure (e.g., pronunciation and grammar) to their students. This is much less true of the prospective Malay teachers at the language institute.

The pattern of Chinese teaching staff is much like that of English in every respect except one: the national-language policy is discouraging their development. The situation with regard to Tamil teachers is quite different from the other three languages: since teacher-training facilities for Tamil specialists are almost non-existent, teachers for the primary level must come directly from secondary graduates, without any intervening step, in most cases.

2. *Texts and aids*

In addition to what has already been said about textbooks used in language instruction (see Section D above), it would be well to summarize some recent developments in the field of texts and audio-visual aids.

A new type of material for teaching oral English, independently from the requirements of the syllabus, but as a means to general quickening of the English-learning process, is beginning to make itself felt at such disparate places as the language institute and Nanyang University. Representative texts are *English Sentence Patterns*, by Lado and Fries, *Patterns of English*, by Paul Roberts, and various items from the Oxford series for second-language learners.

Rapid-reading courses probably belong in this category as well, and are being introduced in a few places.

Although it has long been recognized in the English-teaching field that there is an essential distinction between the first-language learner (native speaker) and the second-language learner, this distinction has been somewhat slow to make its appearance in Malay teaching (except for the Malay/national language dichotomy, which is actually one of content more than method). Two such efforts are a text prepared for the United States Peace Corps by staff members of the language institute, and the Dewan Bahasa's older Kursus series. Applications of the principle to primary-school Malay courses may eventually be expected.

Simple audio-visual aids seem to be making some headway in the schools. Situation pictures which the language teacher can prop up on the blackboard and build conversations on are one example. Training in the use of such aids is stressed at the Malayan Teachers' College.

Tape laboratories, although expensive to acquire and maintain, are also making some headway, especially at the upper levels of education. The University of Malaya English and linguistics departments have established a small phonetic laboratory, which is also available to other language sections. The Dewan Bahasa uses tapes for research purposes, and the Singapore universities are acquiring some of this equipment for both teaching and research.

3. *Testing*

Most testing procedures, in all the languages taught, involve writing answers to written questions as a means of determining achievement in a specific course of study. Oral testing does occur, but is operationally confined to placement interviews, e.g., in the Chinese studies department of the University of Malaya, and is not used for grading achievement. Proficiency testing, or general testing not tied to any particular syllabus, does not yet occur in formal-reading or speaking examinations, but centralized language examinations may be on the way in. Language-aptitude testing is almost unknown.

There are some curious anomalies in the field of language testing as practised in Malaysia. For example, in the Singapore public schools, although the national language is a required subject (even for those students who have selected a non-Malay stream and a second language other than Malay), the subject is 'not examinable'. When oral English examinations are required by law or by tradition, the time that can be assigned to oral interviews is so brief that examiners are understandably reluctant to pass or fail a student on this basis alone.

The typical language examination, at the lower levels, consists in giving short answers to grammatical or content questions. By the time the upper levels have been reached, this method has been expanded to include essay and comprehension questions. Most standard examinations of the written type, however, are sufficiently long, and exist in so many versions, that it is very difficult to cheat or fool the examiners.

Nanyang University, where the medium of instruction for most courses except commercial subjects is Mandarin, has unusual rules for examinations. If the course is presented in Chinese, examination questions and answers are in Chinese. If the course is presented in English, the questions are usually in English, but the student may have the option of answering in Chinese (the answer then being translated by a graduate assistant). This system applies mainly to non-language subjects, of course, but in at least one case it applies to a language course where the medium of instruction is something other than the subject language (Japanese taught in Chinese).

F. EFFECTS ON NON-LANGUAGE COURSES

National-language policy and development, the motivation and opportunity for learning various languages, and the purposes for which language courses are offered in the schools, all have their effects on those disciplines in which language is only a medium of instruction or research, and not a subject to be studied in its own right. Some general effects have already been summarized (see Section A.3 above), and we have seen how language study in the universities, except in a few specialized cases, is not basic-language learning. If the greatest impact of policy is already felt at the lower levels of education both in language and non-language courses, then the future impact on higher education will be almost exclusively confined to non-language subjects: their enrolment, their professors, their quality and their research facilities.

1. *Student enrolment*

Student enrolment is already greatly increased, all the way up the line to the university. It is changing in character, as well: the Malay stream goes further than it ever did before; the Chinese and Tamil streams go less far, but transfers to the English stream have prevented any decrease in numbers. University enrolment can be expected slowly to redress the uneven balance between the two official languages, English and Malay, as the Malay stream reaches the universities in ever-increasing numbers. Preference has been shown in the past to Malay-stream graduates, and it will probably continue to be shown in the future.

The preparation of students for the university in non-language subjects, then, is seen almost entirely in relation to the effectiveness of the agencies, public and private, which are producing Malay-stream text material. Their performance in the university will continue to depend on the effectiveness of the schools in teaching English, because the university will not and cannot duplicate all its facilities and remain a university. Neither can it teach ten years of English in a single year.

2. *Teaching staff*

Teaching staff is already feeling the effects of national-language policy, and special interpretations of it. Degrees formerly recognized are no longer recognized. Expatriate professors feel, rightly or wrongly, that they are living on borrowed time, and are looking for other positions. Chinese- and Tamil-stream teachers see their livelihood threatened.

Since the most complex, variable and difficult types of discipline are taught in the universities, moreover, it is here that staffing problems are the most crucial. The best university professors are not interchangeable, nor do they come off an assembly line, however efficient. Malaysian universities have long drawn, not only on European sources, but on some of the very local institutions which now feel themselves threatened. Most such professors are not in language fields, but teach non-language subjects in the English medium. Requiring them to lecture in Malay, while feasible, would solve only a small part of their total problems in dealing with their students' and their own research.

3. *Basic texts*

Basic texts used in Malaysian universities (except Nanyang) are almost entirely in the English medium. While it is conceivable that translating, editing and new-text production in Malay might catch up even with the demands of the non-language subjects taught in the university, it will not happen for many years to come. (Indonesian university students, in fact, are still reading English basic texts and answering some examinations in English.) And it cannot be said too often that basic texts are not the whole story in higher education.

In the lower schools, the pattern of text procurement is significant. Only the national language materials are largely produced within the country (in such publishing centres as Kuala Lumpur and Singapore). English texts come from all over the world, including parts of Asia where English is the principal medium of instruction (e.g., India). Some Chinese books are produced locally, mainly in Singapore, but large quantities are imported from Hong Kong and elsewhere; in Singapore public schools, however, both Chinese nationalist and chinese communist materials are prescribed, at least in theory. Tamil textbooks are largely imported from India and Ceylon, except for some primary texts printed in Kuala Lumpur.

4. *Library facilities*

Library facilities in Malaysian universities depend almost entirely on English and other foreign sources. This includes not only basic material in the humanities, arts and sciences, but periodicals, reference works, rare books and the bibliographical material itself. Of the special collections, of course, those in Malay are the most noteworthy, since they are not found in libraries anywhere else. The language institute and the Dewan Bahasa, in addition to the universities, have excellent collections of Malay and Indonesian literature. Of the Chinese collections, ironically, that of Singapore is far older and larger than that of Nanyang, the Chinese-medium university.

But the existence of special collections, however impressive, only serves to underscore the second of two impossible kinds of choice that would-be translators of what is contained in libraries have to face: first, constant changes in the description of the world; and second, the futility of trying to decide what is relevant in its history.

X. The Philippines

A. THE POLICY

1. *History*

Successively colonized by Spain and the United States, then finally independent, the Republic of the Philippines shows in its general and educational language policies influences of both the colonial languages and of a newly created national language, in addition to official recognition of the numerous vernaculars which have always been the real means of oral communication among individual communities of Filipinos. The brief period of Japanese occupation during the Second World War produced a nodding acquaintance with the Japanese language for most residents of the islands, but fluency for only a few. At no time, however, has any language, either foreign or domestic, official or unofficial, ever achieved the status of a truly broad-based lingua franca, known by the majority of the population and used for intranational communication at all levels. At present, English comes closest to fulfilling this purpose, since it is said to be spoken by as many as 10 million citizens (about one-third of the population); real command of English, however, is still largely confined to the economic and educational *élite* of the urban centres. The new national language, Pilipino, has made progress, particularly from the point of view of literacy, but does not yet rival English as a spoken lingua franca.

Educational-language policy has always paralleled general-language policy in the Philippines, whether imposed by world powers or self-adopted. Under the Spanish régime, education was theoretically available to the public, but in practice limited to the few. Instruction was in Spanish and was tied closely to religious goals, although some vocational training was provided; this situation lasted for nearly three hundred years. From the beginning of the twentieth century, American colonial policy was to extend the base of education, to de-secularize it, and to use this as the springboard of an internal administrative system which it hoped to develop. Instruction was in English; the general plan was that of American liberal education, but vocational training was continued.

The Constitution of the Philippine Commonwealth (1935) contains the first official call for the development of a national language, but work along these lines was interrupted by the war and the Japanese occupation. In 1940, however, an executive order made the national language for the first time a required subject in the public schools. Under the Japanese, the official policy was the sudden introduction of the Japanese language to replace all uses of English, but it made Tagalog the medium of instruction in the school, with Japanese a required subject. This inoperable policy actually produced the first experiments in vernacular education, simply because Tagalog (the base of the developing national language) was not known to a majority of students. One such experiment, conducted by Dr. Pedro Guiang in Ilocos Norte province, was based on actual textbooks developed in the local variety of the Ilocano language. Even during the occupation, however, much education was still conducted in English, for practical reasons.

After Independence (1946), the general medium of instruction reverted officially to English; but the development of the national language and experiments with vernacular education continued. The present educational-language policy, in fact, is an indirect result of experiments with bilingual education conducted by Dr. Guiang with English and Cebuano (1948), and by Dr. José Aguilar with English and Hiligaynon (1949-51). Carefully controlled research is still being conducted in the Philippines to the present day, in an effort to find the best formula for combining the three essential linguistic ingredients of education: English, the national language and the vernaculars.

The history of language policy in the country, then, can be summed up quite graphically by the following statement, which contains three versions of the same basic word: the citizens of the Philippines are Filipinos, and their national language is Pilipino.

2. *The present situation*

The general policy is that English and Pilipino are the two official languages, with Spanish given a special place of honour. Federal government activities are still conducted mainly in English, both internally and externally. Official signs, broadcasts and the press are in English, Pilipino and the local vernaculars, but English predominates. Spanish survives as a spoken language in only the older generation of a relatively few families, but in its other forms it is very much a part of the national culture: personal and place names; songs and traditions. The vernaculars play a strong part in provincial administration, especially north of Manila, where resistance to the national language has been the strongest.

Educational policy parallels the general situation. Vernaculars are used as the medium of instruction for the first two years of primary school. English is gradually introduced, as a subject, during the same two years, and becomes the medium of instruction from the third year onwards, all the way through the university and graduate studies. Pilipino is a required language course in all schools, usually beginning in the third grade and lasting through secondary school. In higher education the national language is required only for teacher trainees and in certain fields of literary specialization, but twenty-four units of Spanish (which can be taken in as little as two years) are required of all college and university students.

In private schools, English can be used as a medium of instruction from the first grade of primary education, but the other obligatory language courses remain the same. Thus the task of the typical student who goes through college (unless he happens to be a native speaker of English or Tagalog going to primary school in the corresponding medium), is to learn at least three completely new languages, in addition to learning how to write and analyse his own mother tongue (see Table 21).

TABLE 21. Languages required for courses

Level	Language	
	Medium of instruction	Required course
First grade	Vernacular	English
Third grade	English	Pilipino
College	English	Spanish

That this particular scheme is not necessarily a permanent one, is emphasized by the fact that the Ministry of Education itself sponsors research projects to determine the correct mixture of English, Pilipino and vernacular in the early grades. The Spanish requirement, however, is held in place by intense political pressures, and does not even seem to be a fit subject for research (except in the methodology of teaching it). The constant factors of educational policy, then, are these: (a) that vernacular education in the first few (two to four) grades is essential; (b) that the English medium be used from whatever point the vernacular medium is dropped until the highest levels of education; (c) that Pilipino and Spanish courses shall be required of all students at certain levels; (d) that the potential uses of Pilipino as a medium of instruction be constantly explored.

3. *Effects on education*

The use of English as the principal medium of instruction in public and private primary schools, and in all education at higher levels, has eliminated many of the problems common to the rest of the region. The textbook problem, for example (except in the first two years of vernacular education, where much instruction takes place without the benefit of written guides), is reduced to one of cost, since English materials in every subject but the Philippine specialities are available in quantity all the way through university-graduate level. Complete development from scratch is required only in local language and cultural subjects. The problem of multilingual media of instruction at higher levels, with the resultant difficulties of recruiting and training teachers, is also avoided. Finally, the student is assured of more equal treatment, at least in the public schools, than his counterpart gets in countries where the medium of instruction is shifted at the secondary or university level.

The main disadvantages resulting from the policy are of two categories. First, the multiplicity of private schools, colleges and universities of widely varying quality are perhaps an indirect result of language policy (see Section F.1 below). The leading institutions of higher education are excellent indeed, but admission to them is a deep social and economic problem. Second, the student who drops out after a few years of schooling (50 per cent do so after only four years) may have achieved the government objective of literacy in two or three languages, but he has achieved very little else in the way of education.

If problems of high-quality university education are avoided by the early use of English as the medium of instruction, such problems are in fact compounded in the case of terminal primary education, which is the destiny of most Filipino children who cannot afford private schools. The reason is that the entire elementary cycle (first four years) is effectively concentrated on different kinds of language learning. First, the pupil learns to read and write his own vernacular, then he begins to learn to speak, read and write English and Pilipino, and even after the third year, when he is studying other subjects in the unfamiliar English vehicle, the language-learning process overshadows the substantive learning process. As he progresses up the educational ladder and learns more and more English in his arithmetic, geography and history courses, he becomes more and more capable of understanding these non-language subjects. By the end of primary school, he may be a linguistic virtuoso, but he has very little other education of either practical or academic value. If he drops out at this point, it is not with outstanding prospects for future employment.

This is not to undervalue the goal of literacy, but simply to point out that language training has to be paid for in one way or another. Using the language to be learned as a medium of instruction before it has been fully learned is a short-cut to language learning, but it is not a short-cut to general learning. This particular effect, combined with the short ten-year period of pre-university schooling, also shows up in the quality of preparation of students for higher education (see Section F.2 below).

4. *The nature of the official languages*

The national language, now called Pilipino, first began to be developed as such with the creation of the Institute of National Language in 1937. The original mission of the institute was to devise a sort of pan-Philippine language which would combine elements of at least the major vernacular languages and dialects (at the time it was fashionable to believe that such *ersatz* languages, created by intelligent linguistic planning, could be brought to life by dedicated enthusiasm and government support, and made to stick). The members, however, wisely declined this formidable challenge, and in the end recommended the development of the national language from the base of a single existing language, with only occasional vocabulary items to be introduced. They displayed perhaps less wisdom in choosing as their base Tagalog, the local language of the Manila region, which had at the time less than 20 per cent of the population as native speakers, in preference to more widely spoken languages such as Visayan.

Pilipino, today, is virtually indistinguishable from its base-language, Tagalog, except in so far as the method of teaching it in the schools is concerned. (The situation is very similar to that in Malaysia, where the national language is simply Malay taught as a second language, with appropriate simplification of content.) Pilipino and Tagalog have identical structures and share a great majority of vocabulary items. Both are written in the same system of unmodified Roman orthography.

In a sense, the national languages of Indonesia and the Philippines are similar in character and origin. Each is a partly artificial new creation based on a minority language within a group of related, but largely mutually unintelligible, languages spoken natively by an overwhelming majority of the population. Each was created and fostered for the express purpose of providing an indigenous means of communication within a nation which already had a feeling of national unity, thus to replace a world language in some of its uses. But here the similarity ends. Malay, the base-language of Indonesia, already had some status within the country as a lingua franca; Tagalog, the base-language of Pilipino, did not. The development of Pilipino, further, started later, and its propagation has been less vigorously pursued by the government. Language policy in education, in fact, is a major factor in the failure so far of Pilipino to duplicate the apparent success of Indonesian as a thriving national language.

The other official language, English, has profited by the same language policy that has kept Pilipino from spreading more rapidly. At the same time, owing to its increasing use as a lingua franca, it has undergone developments that are uniquely Filipino in character. Although the formal written variety is still largely indistinguishable from standard English as written elsewhere, the spoken English of the Philippines has a structure and vocabulary noticeably different from any dialect of the United States (whence it principally originated), of the United Kingdom, or of any other English-speaking country. It must definitely be counted as a dialect of English, however, mutually intelligible with all other modern dialects.

B. THE INSTRUMENTS OF POLICY

Because English is the common medium of instruction in schools at all levels, as well as being one of the official languages, the principal instruments of Philippine language policy are those divisions of the Department of Education which are concerned with the teaching of English. But besides these agencies, since the question of vernacular education, and of when and how to teach the required languages, Pilipino and Spanish, have not been completely settled, the organizations engaged in linguistic research must also be included. The country is in fact unique among South-East Asian nations in the extent to which controlled experiments and general research are carried on in this field, and the results actually utilized in the planning of operational policy. Finally, inasmuch as the development of the national language is a part of general (if not educational) policy, the implementation of this totally different kind of research must be included here.

All the organizations mentioned below are either divisions of the Department of Education, or work closely in conjunction with the department. (For those partly or wholly assisted by private foundations or foreign governments, an indication is given wherever the information is known.)

The Bureau of Public Schools is responsible not only for the supervision of all academic instruction in the public sector, but also for such related activities as teacher training, adult and television education, vocational, literacy and leadership programmes, research, and the production of textbooks and other materials. As such it is the central point from which reforms in language teaching and the use of language in the schools must begin. Most of its work is concentrated at primary levels.

The Bureau of Private Schools, which recognizes and supervises various categories of schools outside the public system, including the private colleges and universities, exerts most of its influence at the higher levels of education. Since the maintaining of standards depends largely on examination procedures and entrance requirements, it is in this area that this bureau has its greatest potential power, which so far it has been unable to use to any significant degree.

The teacher-training colleges and normal schools are enormously important in the Philippines as instruments of language policy. Since both language training in English and Pilipino and the use of English as a medium of instruction begin very early in the educational system, and since schools at these levels are mostly in the public sector, it is the general elementary teacher, and not the specialist in language teaching, that exerts the most influence on the amount of language learned by the whole school population. At the same time more and more emphasis is being placed on the development of specialists in language teaching, both at the teacher-training institutions and in the appropriate divisions of the Bureau of Public Schools (listed below).

The Pilipino Section supervises the teaching of the national language in the public schools. It provides special materials and in-service training for teachers of Pilipino who are of non-Tagalog origin. So far only the larger primary schools are able to afford special Pilipino teachers, but specialization is the rule in high schools. The main problems of the section are lack of textbooks (in some rural schools there is only one book for every five pupils), and lack of qualified teachers in the non-Tagalog provinces. One solution to the latter problem is to have the best qualified teacher move from grade to grade teaching all Pilipino subjects.

The Spanish Division performs similar functions for the teaching of obligatory Spanish courses in the colleges and universities, both public and private. It presently receives different kinds of assistance in the form of materials and advisers, from Spain and Mexico. Its main problems are lack of motivation on the part of students of Spanish, and a consequent general lack of achievement, which brings criticism down upon the whole programme, and results in a vicious circle. One way of meeting the difficulty has been proposed which would involve moving part of the Spanish programme back into the secondary schools, with credit being given at the university level for successful completion of courses. This approach would give the Spanish Division much more direct control over the quality of language instruction in its field; given a sufficient trial period, it believes the vicious circle could be broken out of.

The University of the Philippines, through its College of Education, has a master of arts in teaching programme for English teachers, and is contemplating similar programmes for Spanish and Pilipino. Associated with the college also are graduate linguistic studies, a demonstration elementary school, and the Institute for Language Teaching itself, which has ties with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (an American missionary-affiliated group). The university also includes an Institute of Asian Studies, where languages of the Far East, including Tagalog itself, are offered in connexion with regional programmes. There is private foundation support for many of these university activities.

Some of the private universities are also active in the field of language-policy implementation. For example, Ateneo de Manila is already teaching Pilipino as a second language by modern methods, and may make the instruction available to the general public, through educational television.

The Philippine Center for Language Study is a semi-official organization sponsored jointly by the University of California at Los Angeles and the Department of Education, with private foundation support. Its main contribution to language-policy implementation is in the field of improving English-language teaching. But it is also in the forefront of research on vernacular education and the whole question of when to introduce the various languages, written and spoken, in the elementary curriculum. One of its directors is José Aguilar, a pioneer experimenter in this field. (Beginning in 1965, the centre is to be disbanded and its work taken over by the Philippines Normal College.)

The Research, Evaluation and Guidance Division (of the Department of Education) serves as a clearing house for many of the activities described in the paragraphs above. In the language area, it is responsible for research programmes on literacy, language achievement testing, the medium of instruction, the evaluation of different timetables and methods of language teaching, and pure research on such questions as the relationship among Philippine languages. Its *Annual Report* is a storehouse of information unequalled anywhere else in South-East Asia.

The Institute of National Language, originally set up as an independent body in 1937 (see Section A.4 above), is now part of the Department of Education. Under Director José Villa Panganiban, its mission is the development of Pilipino as an all-purpose national language and its propagation throughout the country. Most of the work accomplished so far has been in the field of terminology, where the general policy is to include words from non-Tagalog Philippine languages, especially in the area of local flora, fauna and artifacts, wherever possible, and phonetically adapted words from English and other international languages in the technical and scientific fields. Terminology lists are issued irregularly. A dictionary and grammar of Pilipino are gradually being assembled. Some co-operation is obtained from communications media in the promulgation of the results of the work, but progress has been slow. Translation of foreign material into Pilipino and the production of new texts in the national language has been extremely limited, because Pilipino as such is nowhere used as the medium of instruction. (Tagalog itself, however, is used in the first two years of elementary school in the Tagalog provinces.)

C. ETHNIC GROUPS AND MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION

The Philippine Islands are populated almost totally by native speakers of related, but largely mutually unintelligible, languages of the Western Malayo-Polynesian group (which also includes most of the languages spoken in Indonesia, and about 36 per cent of those spoken in Malaysia). This undoubtedly accounts for at least part of the feeling of national unity, which exists despite communication difficulties among sectors of the population.

Philippine literature is full of references to the 'Malay' origins of the people, although Malay itself is not one of the languages involved.

The exact number and interrelationships of the Philippine languages is still a subject of active research. The principal points of disagreement are whether Visayan is a single language or a sub-group of languages, and what the status of a number of very minor languages and dialects should be. Inquiry into such questions is being carried on by several local universities, the Research, Evaluation and Guidance Division, the (American) Summer Institute of Linguistics, and by individual scholars both in the Philippines and abroad. It is both a theoretical and a practical problem, since vernacular education is the rule in the first two years of elementary school.

Dr. Cecilio Lopez, the dean of Filipino linguists, puts the number of major languages at twelve, namely: Batan, Ilocano, Pangasinan, Pampango, Sambal, Igorot, Tagalog, Bicol, Visayan, Mangyan, Tagbanua and Sulu-Magindanan. The Bureau of Public Schools, in its vernacular education programmes, recognizes only eight languages, some of which represent regroupings of members of Dr. Lopez' list, and in one case (Visayan) a splitting; still others are completely left out of consideration. For the purposes of this study, however, since the medium of instruction is directly involved, we can assume that the official vernacular list has a reasonable basis in fact, at least in so far as the school population is concerned.

Using a rounded-off figure of 30 million for the whole population, we can compute numbers of first-language speakers in the Philippines as follows. (Figures do not include speakers of Pilipino, English, any Chinese or other language as a second language.)

1. Western Malayo-Polynesian languages may account for 95 per cent of the entire population, about 28.5 million speakers. Of the vernaculars recognized by the educational system, the estimated numbers of speakers are as follows: Cebuano, 7 million; Tagalog, 6 million; Ilocano, 5 million; Hiligaynon, 4 million; Bicol, 2.4 million; Pampango, 1.1 million; Pangasinan, 900,000; Samar-Leyte, 600,000; Others, 1.5 million; a total of 28.5 million.
2. Chinese languages are spoken by about 500,000 speakers. Of these, Hokkien accounts for about two-thirds. The only other language represented in significant numbers is Cantonese (less than 100,000 speakers).
3. Indo-European languages are spoken natively by about the same number of people, 500,000, most of whom are speakers of English (majority) or Spanish (estimates vary). Other speakers represent languages of India more than Europe.
4. Languages other than the above account for the remainder of the population. Included here are speakers of non-Malayo-Polynesian aboriginal languages and a scattering of representation from many foreign languages.

The medium of instruction in the first two grades of primary school is one of eight Malayo-Polynesian vernaculars listed above. The leading language, Cebuano, plus Hiligaynon and some of the minor dialects are considered by some authorities to form a single language called Visayan (which would thus have over 11 million speakers, a clear plurality). Tagalog is called Pilipino when it is taught to non-native speakers. Another name for Samar-Leyte is Waray.

Experiments are at present being conducted by the Research, Evaluation and Guidance Division of the Bureau of Public Schools on the question of the medium of instruction in the first two years of primary school. Acting on the basis of linguistic research indicating that certain vernaculars (Pampango, Hiligaynon, Bicol and Cebuano) are more similar to Tagalog than the other three, teachers are using Pilipino, rather than the local vernacular, as the medium of instruction in certain pilot schools in the provinces affected (see also Section D.3 below). Preliminary results indicate that the Pilipino medium is at least not hindering the acquisition of literacy in the vernacular; it is too early to evaluate other effects.

A second such experiment, now in its fourth year, constitutes one phase of the Rizal Experiment, which is being conducted with Tagalog-speaking children in the Manila area. One purpose of this experiment is to determine whether it would be most efficient, from the point of view of general learning, to introduce English as a medium of instruction from the first, third or fifth year of primary school. Preliminary results seem to favour the earliest introduction of the English medium, but there are still many imponderable factors. The Rizal area was chosen, for example, because of lack of interference from vernaculars.

From the third grade on, in all schools, the medium is English (except for a few language courses). English and Mandarin are the medium of instruction from the first grade on in certain private schools. English-medium primary schools are often secular. The number of second-language speakers of English is said to be in the neighbourhood of 10 million at present. Required language courses are Pilipino and English at the elementary and secondary levels, and Spanish at the higher-education level. Some additional motivation for the study of the last-named language is provided by the availability of a number of Spanish Government scholarships each year.

D. LANGUAGE COURSES AND THEIR OBJECTIVES

1. *Vernacular languages*

The eight vernacular languages are taught as a temporary medium of oral and written instruction. For the most part (ideally, always), knowledge of the spoken language is simply assumed; there is no standardization taught. The goal is simple literacy in the vernacular; the principles of the writing system are taught through visual aids associated with letters and words, and reading follows quickly. All of the official vernaculars now have Roman orthographies. Most of them are of fairly recent origin; some have been scientifically designed by specialists, and the sound-letter correspondences are reasonably accurate. But in a few older writing systems (such as that used for Pampango), sound-letter correspondences are faulty, and hence spelling has to be taught as well.

Elementary students write the vernacular in their notebooks, and frequently also on the board, in other subjects as well as language arts. The literacy rate at the end of four years for most vernaculars is upwards of 50 per cent.[1] Although the literature is apt to be small, the use of written vernacular languages is slowly spreading. There is at least one newspaper, for example, printed in all major vernaculars.

2. *English*

Partly as the result of massive local research and experimentation, and partly because of advice and assistance from outside the country (especially through the channel of the Philippine Center for Language Study), English is now taught almost entirely by the oral-aural method in the elementary schools. The first objective is to enable pupils to understand oral instructions in other subjects beginning with the third grade, and this objective already seems to be fulfilled in the better schools. The second aim is literacy in English, since written English also comes quickly into play as the language of virtually all textbooks, from elementary school upwards.

An experiment is currently being conducted in the Rizal district (Tagalog medium) to determine the optimum time of introducing reading activities. The times under investigation are the end of the third month of grade 1 and the end of the third month of grade 2. There is no report on this experiment as yet, but preliminary findings are said to favour the earlier introduction of reading.

Other objectives of English courses are self-expression in the oral and written language, since the student's whole educational career depends on his ability to answer questions, in class and in examinations, in English. There is, however, less than the usual emphasis on academic composition and speech-making. This aspect of language arts comes into play at a much higher level. Secondary-school courses in English become more and more similar to the American type of instruction; i.e., they begin to resemble courses given to native speakers, with the usual literary and other peripheral content.

In the universities, especially the private ones, the content of first-year courses is sometimes remedial (as it is, indeed, in American colleges and universities). At the University of the Philippines, the College of Education concentrates on phonetic and other structural aspects of spoken English;

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[1] All literacy figures in this section are taken from the 1963-64 annual report of the Research, Evaluation and Guidance Division.

linguistically-oriented programmes are available at a few other universities as well.

Besides the time spent in actual English courses (which may total as much as twelve years for the typical university student), a great deal of time is spent learning and reinforcing the language in other subjects. In the fourth grade, a 1962 survey of literacy in English showed a sample average of about 29 per cent; in the sixth grade (after four years of instruction in the English medium), a comparable 1963 survey showed a sample average of 65 per cent. The inference is clear: Philippine students are still learning a great deal of their English in non-language courses.

3. *Pilipino*

The method, objectives and timing of teaching the national language are very similar to those applying to the teaching of English, although Pilipino has not yet been used as a medium of instruction (except, as Tagalog, in the first two years of elementary school for Tagalog speakers, and as Pilipino, in an experiment—see below). The direct oral-aural method is widely used, supported by visual aids, for teaching non-native speakers of Tagalog, whether they are elementary-school children or adults, beginning Pilipino. No textbooks are placed before the learner until command of oral-language structure has been established; there is no translation or explanation in any other language. Reading is introduced early, however, and follows the plan used for vernacular languages more than that used for English, since the nature of the writing system eliminates most spelling difficulties.

Literacy is usually established early in the curriculum, but varies widely among the different vernacular groups, reflecting the distance from Tagalog of the native language in question. Survey figures of 1962 for Pilipino literacy in the fourth grade showed a sample average of about 37 per cent (as compared to 29 per cent for English). Similar averages for the sixth grade, from a 1963 survey, are broken down by vernacular as follows: Bicol, 69 per cent; Cebuano, 82; Hiligaynon, 50; Ilocano, 62; Pampango, 75; Pangasinan, 53; Waray, 59; Tagalog, 88.

After literacy has been more or less established, the content of the national-language course quickly changes into a cultural orientation course that might be called Pilipino studies. Here the emphasis is on literary, civic and historical traditions common to the entire nation. Although the language is still taught as such, it simultaneously becomes a vehicle of general culture, especially at the secondary level. No obligatory courses in Pilipino are taught in the universities, except in colleges of education and certain specialties.

4. *Dual-language courses*

Since both English and Pilipino must be taught simultaneously from the early stages of primary education, considerable discussion, research and experimentation are focused on the question of timing of the courses. The general policy has been to introduce English from grade 1 and Pilipino from grade 3, on the theory that in vernacular schools other than Tagalog, the resulting combination of three languages (one the medium of instruction, the other two obligatory courses) is to be avoided at all costs. This theory is now being tested in a Hiligaynon-speaking area by the Research, Evaluation and Guidance Division, in co-operation with the Philippine Center for Language Study, in a long-term programme now in its third year, called the Iloilo Experiment. Preliminary results have been more or less surprising to investigators and other observers alike: so far there are strong indications that dual-language courses (English and Pilipino started simultaneously in the first grade, along with the vernacular medium of instruction, making a total of three languages) do not cause interference, but rather tend to reinforce each other. The results, however, are by no means conclusive.

Other experimental schools (e.g., in Pampango) exist where English and Pilipino are being taught simultaneously by specialists in teaching those languages, instead of by general elementary teachers. (In one such school visited, at Guagua, although the two language lessons followed each other in quick succession and the method of presentation was almost identical, there was no co-ordination of the content of the language lesson. By coincidence, both teachers were presenting virtually the same material, but using different sets of visual aids and slightly different conversational frames, to which the pupils had to make separate adjustments. But the opportunity for real dual-language instruction, based on an identical verbal situation which had to be memorized only once, had been partially, if accidentally, realized.) Experiences of the experimental schools, if not actually disproving the theory of multiple-language interference, certainly suggest future avenues of research.

5. *Spanish*

Most Spanish courses, except in a few sectarian private schools, have the objective of satisfying the obligatory twenty-four hours university credit. Up to now they have been highly academic in character, with emphasis on Spanish culture and literature; reading and translation methods have been widely used. So far, ability to communicate orally in Spanish has been relatively rare, even after the full twenty-four credits. The Spanish Division of the Department of Education, however, with the help of Mexican and other foreign advisers, is seeking to put the programme on a more speaking-oriented basis. A suggested solution is to move the whole programme back into the secondary schools, where centralization and earlier concentration on oral Spanish might yield more practical results in the long run, as well as helping to satisfy the requirement.

6. *Other languages*

Mandarin is taught in the private Chinese schools, where it becomes the medium of instruction (see Chapter III, Section C, end). It is also taught at the Institute of Asian Studies of the University of the Philippines, where it has a current enrolment of about twenty-five students, and at other scattered institutions. Japanese is the only other Asian language currently offered at the institute, with some fifteen students, but plans of the institute call for offering South-East Asian languages, including Tagalog, as part of its programme for students from the whole region as well as from the Philippines in such disciplines as Buddhism, Indology and specialized Asian studies involving a 'core country'. Considerable demand has been felt, in particular, for Indonesian, which is scheduled to be the central language of 'core country' studies in the near future.

Other European languages, such as French, German and Russian are occasionally subscribed sufficiently to be offered in both public and private universities. Classical languages, such as Latin and Greek, complete the list. It is said, however, that the obligatory Spanish course inhibits development of widespread offerings in other languages at the higher education level.

E. LANGUAGE-TEACHING RESOURCES

1. *Staff: training and supervision*

It is a curious irony of the Philippine educational system that existing language policy, while serving the needs of the nation well in many respects, creates a shortage of language teachers in all areas of required language instruction. There is no shortage of teachers in the vernaculars, but this is basically a question of the medium of instruction, and not of language courses *per se*, since vernacular teachers only teach writing systems and allot most of their effort to general subjects. Vernacular-medium instruction, in turn, creates a shortage of qualified teachers of the national language, because elementary-school staff obviously cannot be assigned on a country-wide basis, and few schools can afford the luxury of a Pilipino specialist, to supplement the services of vernacular teachers to whom Pilipino is not a native language.

While speakers of English as a second language are available in plentiful supply, and can be trained to serve adequately as teachers of English courses at higher levels, there is a shortage of the precise skills most needed at the elementary level, where English is being taught to complete beginners by oral-aural techniques. This is where the foundations of future progress in English are laid, in the first and second grades, and again it is the general elementary teacher, as in the case of Pilipino, who is expected to do the job.

As far as teachers of Spanish are concerned, there is a shortage of teachers not only with respect to proficiency in the language, but also in training to do the kind of teaching job which will produce the desired results.

In all three languages where widespread teaching is required—Pilipino, English and Spanish—steps are rapidly being taken to improve the situation. About half the effort of teacher-training institutions at all levels—from 'normal' schools to colleges of education—is devoted to inculcating the language skills and methodology of English and Pilipino to prospective teachers. Even in Spanish, there is a comparable effort at the higher levels. Parallel steps, meanwhile, are being taken by the training systems of private educational institutions, but not on so large a scale.

The important resources of the public-school supervisory system are also placed at the disposal of the drive to improve language teaching. Each district office has its own separate inspectors or specialists in English and Pilipino who see to it that instruction in the respective languages is carried out in conformance with current specifications, and who introduce new techniques to the teachers of the district as required. The language inspectors are also the instruments of experimental projects when these are carried on at the district level. Besides regular teacher training and supervision, other avenues of approach to the problem are in-service training for active teachers, and a constant effort to provide specialist teachers to replace general ones wherever possible.

2. *Texts and aids*

For English alone, the problem of texts and aids is not really a serious one. In addition to the world-wide stock of materials available for this commonly-taught language, there has been a great deal of work done by the Philippine Center for Language Study and other organizations in the preparation of materials especially for Filipino learners. A purely administrative problem does exist, however, in the area of Bureau of Public Schools approval for suitable texts, since commercial publishers do not welcome the competition from public or foundation-supported materials development projects.

For Pilipino, a good start has been made at the elementary level, but a number of obstacles remain to development of suitable materials for the entire scholastic programme. Since this language is taught only in the Philippines, all materials must be produced domestically; the understandable lack of enthusiasm on the part of potential foreign and international aid sources and the present lack of funds on the part of the Department of Education make the cost aspects of such a programme difficult to solve. Another obstacle is the newness of Pilipino, which is still being actively developed by the National Language Institute, and the scarcity of its (non-Tagalog) literature.

For the eight vernacular languages now being used as media of instruction, there are now nearly adequate materials for the introduction of the writing system (which is at present the only really relevant phase of language teaching), but it is clear that other vernacular languages will eventually have to be considered. Some research and development are already being done along these lines by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which is engaged in literacy projects for its own purposes.

Spanish, Chinese and Japanese textbooks mainly originate outside the country. For the first language, which is obligatory in higher education, projects are under way to produce materials which will better suit the new aims for which it is taught. Textbooks adapted to Philippine needs, however, are now generally lacking in all three languages.

3. *Testing*

Language tests of virtually all types, except aptitude, are regularly administered in public and private schools. Achievement and proficiency testing, oral and written, formal and informal, is an integral part of the language teaching and placement programme. Probably no country of the region has a more complete knowledge of the progress its language students are making at any given time. Much of the impetus for the testing activity, of course, comes from the carefully controlled statistical research which is constantly being carried on in language and non-language areas of education. Even the absence of aptitude testing is partially covered by the administration of intelligence tests in connection with research projects.

F. EFFECTS ON HIGHER EDUCATION

Some general effects of Philippine-language policy on education have already been summarized (see Section A.3 above). Effects peculiar to higher education can be traced to the same sources, and the disadvantages have even more serious consequences for the future, since they are not so easily remedied.

1. *Student enrolment*

The use of English as the principal medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools has produced, since the Second World War, an ever-growing stream of lower-school graduates who are capable of following courses taught in English at higher levels. The public school system, although nearly adequate at the elementary level, can absorb only about 40 per cent of such graduates in its secondary system, and only a little over 10 per cent in its institutions of higher education. The result is that the number and size of private schools, colleges and universities has increased steadily since the war. There are at present at least thirty private universities, the largest of which, the Far Eastern University (in Manila), has a current enrolment of over 50,000; a few others are almost as large. Private higher education in the Philippines, in a word, has run wild.

The quality of public universities, such as the University of the Philippines, of some of the private secular universities, such as Ateneo de Manila and Silliman, and of some of the non-secular universities, such as the Lycaeum, is unquestioned. But among so many private universities, there are bound to be a few whose standards are extremely low. The Philippines currently attract considerable numbers of students from other countries of the region (notably Thailand) where English-medium higher education is unavailable; such students frequently find themselves in the lower quality institutions and their disillusionment can be quite serious.

2. *Preparation of students*

In general, the higher-education system of the Philippines closely parallels that of the United States, and has inherited both the benefits and the defects of that system. The principal differences, in fact, lie in the area of the state of preparation of pre-university students, both in language and in general subjects. English is introduced so early in the Philippine system, in fact, that surprisingly few students arrive at the better universities with a really poor control of it. Despite the numerous vernacular backgrounds, even the average college student has a useful lingua franca in hand, if not a well-sharpened tool of research.

But in non-language subjects there is a related effect of language policy which shows up in the preparation of students for the university. The Philippine system is unique, among the countries of this study, in that it provides only ten years of primary-secondary schooling, instead of the usual twelve or thirteen (elementary 4, intermediate 2, secondary 4). This means that the pre-university student has fewer years to prepare himself in general subjects in any case; when the time spent on language learning (whatever the name of the course) is subtracted from the ten years, it may leave the equivalent of only six years. It is not surprising, then, to hear higher education in the Philippines compared to the upper-secondary cycle in other countries, and graduate students equated with the normal undergraduate curriculum. Nor is it surprising that so many students, at great cost to themselves and their families, are attending private schools in an effort to achieve a usable standard of knowledge.

3. *Teaching staff*

The use of English as the principal medium of instruction at all levels of education for over fifty years has produced an enormous pool of university graduates, from both domestic and overseas universities, who are capable of teaching subjects in English all the way up through the higher-education level. This is perhaps a major reason for the existence of so many private institutions at present; the task of securing qualified staff is far easier than that of securing qualified students. Competition for university-level jobs, however, keeps salaries down, no matter how large the classes or how expensive the tuition.

There are graduate schools operating in all sectors of the Philippine higher-education system: public, private sectarian and non-sectarian. Except in certain scientific specialties, the picture for future development of education is thus much brighter on the side of professional staff than it is on the side of student qualifications. Large enrolments can be handled, as they are at present, even if there are improvements in the preparation of students for the universities.

4. *Texts and library facilities*

Outside of the Pilipino, vernacular and related areas, the problem of textbooks is only a problem of costs. At present, the higher costs of the upper levels of education are being passed along to the consumer, because of the preponderance of private education in this area. But if there is any expansion in public higher education, these costs must be taken into consideration. Even now they are causing problems in elementary education, where textbook variety is relatively controlled.

The problem of library facilities is one of dispersion. Although the University of the Philippines and many of the older private institutions have excellent libraries, the extreme decentralization at the top of the educational pyramid makes impossible the gathering together of library stock, periodicals and reference materials in any single place. Duplication occurs not only in widely separated geographical areas but in adjacent blocks of the city of Manila where private universities are concentrated.

XI. Republic of Viet-Nam

A. THE POLICY

1. *History*

Although the general language policy of the Republic of Viet-Nam since the Geneva Agreements (1954) has been a firm and consistent adherence to the typical pattern of the smaller unilingual nations, the national language being supported in internal administration and a world language (French) in external affairs, the educational-language policy has undergone some fairly extreme gyrations. The system inherited with Independence was one in which much of real education above the elementary level was in the French medium, and culminated in potential admission to the predominantly French University of Hanoi, which served all of Indo-China, or to various universities in France itself. Vietnamese-medium secondary education existed under the French (from 1945) but was definitely a stepchild and virtually all of the nation's new leaders in the South reached their positions after (if not because of) French-medium education. With the removal of the University of Hanoi to Saigon in 1955, and with the increase of nationalistic sentiment, more and more instruction began to be given in Vietnamese at the secondary level and eventually this medium reached the university itself (for subjects other than Vietnamese studies). A second institution of higher learning, the University of Hué, was established in 1957, with most instruction in Vietnamese from the start. In 1961, the University of Saigon theoretically switched to Vietnamese, leaving the private (Catholic) University of Dalat as the only completely French-medium higher institution in the country (see also Section C below, end).

At the same time as public secondary schools were converting entirely to the national language, the older system persisted in the form of private and semi-private *lycées*, with instruction entirely in French, since many students still hoped to complete their education abroad (or at the University of Dalat). Also, there were a number of technical schools at various levels in which the instruction, because of staff considerations, was all or partly in French. Even the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Hué, temporarily staffed with German professors, was teaching in French in 1962. The demand for French education is still very strong, up to the present day.

With the coming of American military and economic aid programmes to Viet-Nam in ever-increasing amounts, however, and with the country being pulled apart by political forces, it was only natural that a third language, English, should enter the picture. As early as 1955, secondary-school students were required to study both English and French as part of the curriculum. From 1958, the student has merely been required to choose one or the other at the beginning of the seventh form (first year of secondary) and pick up the other as a secondary language after the *brevet* (third form). At the outset of this choice system, English and French were running close competition, with English actually ahead at one point, but now the ratio of option is about 60 : 40 in favour of French. Some university courses, including subjects outside the arts field, have been offered in English since that time. A few courses, for example in law, are now offered in the two languages in alternate years by the same professor.

Nationalistic fervour, however, is still very much a factor in language-policy direction today, operating in two ways. First, members of minority groups are considered Vietnamese unless they are actually citizens of other countries, and all census figures reflect this view. Severe restrictions placed on Chinese schools in the past have become even more severe; there is hardly any official mention made, except in educational statistics, of the quarter to half-million Khmer speakers in the southern and western provinces (except those with Cambodian citizenship), who are obviously neither Chinese nor 'Montagnards'. Second, the force of nationalism is constantly thrusting at the remaining strongholds of foreign languages, both in education and elsewhere. The example of North Viet-Nam, where the national language has achieved nearly complete dominance, is very much before the eyes of the people of the South, regardless of their political persuasion.

On the other hand, there is a counter-force, less powerful but nevertheless real, which puts regionalism ahead of nationalism. In education, this takes the form of a wish to restore Viet-Nam to its former position as intellectual centre of the old Indo-China, now represented by four independent nations. There are, in fact, Cambodian and Laotian students in both North and South Viet-Nam at all levels of education even to the present day. But in order to include more of the region of South-East Asia, some South Vietnamese educators are anxious to build up English-medium, as well as French-medium, higher education. This position, they point out, is not really in conflict with present policy at all.

2. *Present practice*

Because of constant shifts in government, including Ministers of Education, and generally unsettled conditions which make any kind of educational policy a thing of little substance, it is very difficult to say exactly what the policy of South Viet-Nam is with regard to the use of language in education. For this reason, a description of present practice in education will have to serve as a substitute for a statement of policy.

Primary education is in the Vietnamese medium, except for public vernacular schools ('Montagnard', Khmer and Cham, representing only about 2 per cent of the total primary-school registration) and private Chinese- and French-medium schools (percentage of registration unknown). Secondary education is conducted in three language media: Vietnamese in public schools, French and Chinese in private schools, with Vietnamese far in the majority for all types of schools. Higher technical education and teacher training occurs in Vietnamese, French and English, in that order of frequency. Of the three existing universities, each is somewhat a special case as regards the medium of instruction: the University of Hué favours Vietnamese; the (private) University of Dalat, French; the University of Saigon uses both languages and adds English. No Chinese university exists in South Viet-Nam, but Chinese studies are definitely part of the higher-education curriculum.

3. *The nature of the national language*

Vietnamese (or Annamese, as it is called in the older literature) ranks high on the list of South-East Asian languages, with nearly 30 million speakers in North and South Viet-Nam, Cambodia, Thailand and Laos, but it lacks the regional status of Thai/Lao and Indonesian/Malay, because the great concentration of its speakers (perhaps 25 million) are in the two Viet-Nams. On the other hand, it is a potent force for cultural unity among its speakers, because its three major dialects (Northern, Central and Southern) enjoy almost complete mutual intelligibility. As far as South Viet-Nam is concerned, although the original dialects of the geographical region are Southern and Central, it is the Northern dialect which provides the major basis for the written standard language of the present day. This situation came about partly as the result of the north-south migrations of the 1950s, but mainly because of the high percentage of Northerners among the intellectual and politically influential people who set standards in the South.

All three dialects are written, with minor variations, in the same system of Romanization, which in addition to the usual letters uses diacritics to indicate tone and vowel quality, and slightly modified letters to represent two vowels and one consonant. This writing system, attributed to Alexander de Rhodes, today fits the phonology of the Northern dialect better than it fits the other two, but at the same time it represents a kind of generalized pattern for all three dialects. In Western adaptations (for example, in citing Vietnamese personal names) the diacritics are usually omitted and the special letters are rendered by their closest Roman equivalents.

Uniquely among the languages of South-East Asia, Vietnamese draws the bulk of its loan-vocabulary and general cultural orientation from China, rather than from indigenous sources or from India and the Near East. At one time, in fact, the language was written in Chinese characters, and the older generation of Vietnamese scholars is still conversant with this system. Sino-Vietnamese linguistics is still part of the language curriculum in the secondary schools and universities, both in the North and the South.

The basic relationship of Vietnamese to other languages remains obscure, however. (It is definitely not a member of the Sino-Tibetan group.) Some scholars believe it is related to the Mon-Khmer family, or at least to a larger group, Austroasiatic, which includes Mon-Khmer. A few scholars place it in the Malayo-Polynesian group or align it with Thai. As a tone-language, it has superficial resemblances to a great many other languages of the region.

4. *Effects on higher education*

The multiplicity of university language streams, and the constant shifting of operational policy with regard to language study as part of education at the lower levels, has created an atmosphere of some confusion for the potential university student. As a native speaker or skilful handler of Vietnamese (and he is one or both by the time he has passed the baccalaureate examinations), he is not assured of being able to follow his chosen course of study in this language when he gets to the university. Neither is he assured of being able to get instruction in the primary language he chose while in secondary school, whether this was French or English. One explanation for the rising enrolment in the Faculty of Science in Saigon, in fact, is that the Vietnamese medium is beginning to be used; this tends to offset the greater intellectual challenge of the scientific disciplines.

For both the other media of instruction, English and French, the usual complaints are heard from professors: that the students' knowledge of the language is insufficient for following lectures, outside reading and examinations. Many of the best achievers in both languages, of course, are siphoned off into foreign universities, especially in France and the United States. (This helps to explain, perhaps, why only 20 per cent of present university enrolments are from French-medium *lycées.*) The existence of large numbers of foreign graduates, in turn, gives rise to a further situation, which may be peculiar to South Viet-Nam: in some disciplines (e.g., letters) there are more professors with the capability of teaching in foreign languages than there are students with the capability of following the instruction.

A far more serious consequence of the multistream university curriculum occurs in the area of textbooks and periodicals. While there are plenty of English and French publications available for all disciplines, the very fact that the instruction is sometimes given in foreign language inhibits the production of national-language materials. This is all the more tragic because in most fields South Viet-Nam does not suffer from the scarcity of specialists which plagues other countries of the region; i.e., while one professor is teaching, a colleague can be translating or producing materials in Vietnamese on the same subject. South Viet-Nam does not suffer, either, from the plight of multilingual countries in this respect; i.e., any professor, no matter where his education took place, can lecture and write with great precision in the national language. He has, in fact, been trained to do so. His only complaint (and it is a just one) is that he is asked to teach and produce textbooks at the same time.

Most South Vietnamese, educators and students alike, are aware of the fact that in North Viet-Nam textbooks in the same language as their own are being assiduously produced. Since there is no obstacle, except the political one, to the use of these materials and to further kinds of academic co-operation, especially at the higher levels, the national-language controversy in higher education must inevitably raise some very sore points indeed.

B. THE INSTRUMENTS OF POLICY

Since it is very difficult to determine a consistent line of language policy in the first place, it is equally difficult to ascertain which agencies of the government are carrying out that policy. The best that can be done is to enumerate the potential forces of implementation and describe their present attitudes as revealed in interviews.

The Ministry of Education seems generally in favour of the adoption of Vietnamese-medium instruction at all possible levels, including the public universities, with all deliberate speed. On the other hand, it takes an active part in the development of vernacular education for the minority groups other than Chinese through its Service de Matériel d'Enseignement (see Section D.1 below) and is sincerely trying to improve the teaching of French and English as languages (not media of instruction) in its schools. Among the most positive measures it is taking toward the establishment of instruction in Vietnamese are the assistance and encouragement it gives in the production of textbooks (see Section F.3 below).

All other internal ministries, except those involving the medical profession, are pulling in the same direction. Oral and written Vietnamese has long been the rule in administration, communications and services throughout the country. Even in predominantly Chinese and French areas, official signs are always in the national language. Business documentation is in Vietnamese also.

The majority of university students can be numbered among those who favour extension of Vietnamese-medium instruction to the highest levels of education. Some of the most vocal proponents of this point of view, indeed, belong to the ranks of the Saigon University undergraduates.

Foreign assistance groups, while not officially part of the policy-making apparatus, have considerable influence on the directions which day-to-day policy will take, through their power to assist educational programmes. Foremost among these groups are the Education Division of United States AID, and the French cultural mission. Both are generally in favour of the existing situation as regards the medium of instruction, but would like to see the two foreign languages (English and French) taught more efficiently, at least so that university, technical and teacher-training courses can be occasionally taught in those languages, so that a wider selection of students for overseas scholarships might be available, and so that students in national universities might be able to make use of world-language resources even when courses are offered in Vietnamese. The principal efforts of the foreign organizations are directed toward these ends, but are by no means confined to improving the teaching of their own respective languages exclusively. English and French forces, in fact, tend to support each other.

University professors are among the strongest proponents of the world languages as media of instruction, especially at the graduate level. Some professors, though themselves educated completely in the French medium, go so far as to say that they would rather learn to teach in English than have to abandon the advantages of higher education in a language of wider communication altogether. Among the reasons advanced against the use of Vietnamese at the highest levels are the usual ones: lack of texts, periodicals and library facilities. But the strongest argument of all, to their way of thinking, is that professional men need to keep in constant contact, both oral and written with members of their profession in other countries. Education in the national-language medium they see as a fatal deterrent to this process.

Private language schools (i.e., schools offering instruction in foreign languages only, and having no general curriculum) do not affect the formulation of policy, but throw considerable light on the immediate needs of the country. The very existence and commercial success of such schools, which are to be found by the score in Saigon, teaching English more often than French, are a kind of proof of the common-sense conviction that knowledge of foreign languages is an economic asset, quite apart from the educational system. It is much easier for the partly-educated person to find a job, the argument goes, if he knows English or French or both. Should an all-Vietnamese policy be adopted by the government for the universities, it is almost certain that there will be an expansion in the numbers and enrolments of the private language schools.

C. ETHNIC GROUPS AND MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION

South Viet-Nam, in spite of having a much larger ethnic Chinese population, is probably more homogeneous, in the linguistic sense, than its northern neighbour. Well over 90 per cent of its people speak Vietnamese with some degree of fluency; this includes a sizeable portion of the Chinese community. Except in the internal mountain areas, and in a few areas of intense ethnic concentration, communication is no problem for the citizen of South Viet-Nam within his own borders.

Besides the Chinese, the government recognizes (at least in so far as primary education is concerned) four distinct groups of non-Vietnamese citizens. The most numerous are the so-called 'Montagnards' (in Vietnamese, *Moi*, a word which has no more specific a meaning than the French term), who are classified together on the basis of food-gathering and habitat characteristics, rather than on ethnic or linguistic grounds. Most Montagnards are, in fact, distant relatives of two other recognized plains-dwelling minorities, the Khmers and the Chams, or of the Vietnamese themselves. The fourth group, a very small one, is the Lao, who are related not only to the Thai of Thailand, but also to various groups of recent Thai immigrants from the north, not yet accounted for in educational planning.

Because of disruptions in the normal life of the country, census figures of any kind are difficult to verify. Numbers of speakers of various languages as mother tongues are virtually non-existent, because previous censuses have not included the information. The following figures, then, are only the roughest kind of estimate, and are given only to fill out the pattern used in describing other countries of the present study. Using a rounded-off figure of 15 million for the total population of South Viet-Nam, and assuming in this case that Vietnamese is not a Mon-Khmer language, the numbers of first-language speakers for the five major language families represented in the country are approximately as follows:

1. Vietnamese itself, with its three major and mutually intelligible dialects, accounts for about 83 per cent of all first-language speakers, about 12.5 million (breakdown by dialect is not feasible at present, because of recent population movements and widespread dialect mixture). Muong, a language closely related to Vietnamese, has an additional 400,000 speakers.
2. Chinese languages claim nearly a million native speakers, of whom about half speak Cantonese. The other important languages represented are Tiechiu, Hokkien, Hakka and Hailam; only the first has as many as 100,000 speakers.
3. Mon-Khmer languages may be represented by as many as 600,000 speakers, about one-third of whom are plains-dwellers speaking dialects of Khmer itself, the national language of Cambodia. Other important languages of the group are Kahaw, Mnong, Stieng, Pacoh, Bahnar and Chrau.
4. Western Malayo-Polynesian languages account for about 400,000 speakers,

the important members being the plains-dwelling Cham and mountain-dwelling tribes such as the Rhade and Jarai. The latter two may have over 100,000 speakers each.

5. Thai languages are probably represented by about 70,000 speakers, of whom roughly half are plains-dwelling Lao; the remainder are recently-arrived tribal Thai (at least three different languages) from the north.
6. The remaining population (about 30,000) consists largely of Montagnards whose languages have not yet been classified, and native speakers of Indo-European languages such as English and French. (Unless members of the last two language groups who are in obviously transient status are counted, the number of permanent residents who speak French and English natively is insignificant.)

Considering only single languages, and not language families, the dominant ones are the following: Vietnamese, 12.5 million (83 per cent); Cantonese, 500,000 (3 per cent); Muong, 400,000 (over 2 per cent); Khmer, 200,000 (over 1 per cent). It is clear from comparison of these figures (if even partially accurate) with comparable figures from other countries that South Viet-Nam ranks with Cambodia as the two most unilingual countries of the region.

Public primary education is in the Vietnamese medium everywhere except in the designated vernacular schools. Of the latter, there were in 1963-64 the following totals of elementary- and primary-level institutions:

School	*Elementary*	*Primary*
Montagnard	161	34
Khmer	99	9
Cham	15	8
Total (Public vernacular)	275	51

For the private schools of these levels, it is not always possible to determine the medium of instruction. Even in the case of elementary schools, the only statistical breakdown given is by student population ('Vietnamese' or 'Vietnamese of Chinese extraction'); the term 'French schools' is reserved for a small number of full primary schools. One can assume, however, that in a sizeable proportion of these private schools, the actual medium of instruction is either French or Chinese, rather than Vietnamese. The figures for 1963-64 are as follows:

School	*Elementary*	*Primary*
For Vietnamese	1 293	502
For Sino-Vietnamese	108	63
French schools	—	8
Total (private)	1 401	573

If we add to these figures the totals for public vernacular schools given above, and compare the new figures with the totals for all public and private schools of the same category, we see that the percentage of schools teaching partly in non-Vietnamese media may be as high as 40 per cent in the elementary category and 26 per cent in the primary category.

School	*Elementary*	*Primary*
Vernacular	275	51
Private	1 401	573
Not definitely Vietnamese-medium	1 676 (40 %)	624 (26 %)
Total schools	4 127	2 401

In secondary education, the vernacular schools disappear, but there are still three media of instruction: Vietnamese, French and Chinese. (United States aid plans also reportedly call for two model English-medium high schools to be operated in connexion with teacher-training institutions.) In the secondary category there are also three types of institution: public, semi-public and private. Again, it is impossible to say for certain what the actual medium of instruction of a given school is, except in the case of the public schools, where it is presumably always Vietnamese, and the *lycée* operated by the French cultural mission, where it is French. But it is clear that, with the private schools outnumbering the public and semi-public schools put together (322 to 212), the language medium is not the only reason for the existence of private schools; the main reason is, in fact, the inability of the public schools to absorb the enormous output of the primary schools. Nearest estimates of the number of non-Vietnamese-medium schools (of the first and second cycles) would be sixty to eighty, most of them being in the Saigon-Cholon area.

The *lycées* operated by the French cultural mission, of which there are four in Saigon, with an enrolment of about 12,000 this year, have a programme which is in theory identical with that of comparable schools in France. Other French-medium private *lycées* are said to have an enrolment of about 20,000. Graduates of these two kinds of secondary institutions together furnish as much as 20 per cent of the university enrolment at present. Graduates of the Chinese secondary schools for the most part must continue their education abroad, Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan being three of the possibilities.

The medium of instruction varies from faculty to faculty in the universities (except at Dalat, where only the Teachers' College is said to use the national language). In 1961, a Circular Letter issued by the Secretary of State for National Education recommended the use of Vietnamese as the medium of instruction, especially in freshmen classes starting that year. At the same time, however, each higher-education faculty was urged to offer a number of courses in French or English, with compulsory attendance. The situation at the University of Saigon is at present approximately as follows:

Faculties	*Media*
Letters	French, English, Vietnamese
Science	Mainly French; Vietnamese being introduced
Pedagogy	French, English, Vietnamese
Medicine	Mainly French
Law	Mainly Vietnamese; at graduate level, also French and English
Others	Mainly French

At the University of Hué, the use of Vietnamese is decidedly more common than at the University of Saigon.

D. LANGUAGE COURSES AND THEIR OBJECTIVES

1. *The national language, Vietnamese*

Because of the similarity of the dialects and the relatively close correspondence of the Romanized writing system to all three, the teaching of Vietnamese to elementary students who are native speakers is an extremely simple process. Standardization of oral language and teaching a few spelling rules of the written language are really all that is required to establish both as workable means of further instruction in other subjects. Children from Vietnamese-speaking homes learn to read very quickly and are able to use this tool from the first grade onwards.

For non-Vietnamese children of most backgrounds, the process is much more complicated. Chinese, Khmer and Cham-speaking children, although they are quite likely to know a considerable amount of spoken Vietnamese when they first arrive at school (unless they come from areas of extreme ethnic concentration), suffer from the method of instruction, which is much the same as that used for first-language teaching. This is apparently true even in schools specifically designed for these minorities, both public and private. Montagnard children are less likely to arrive at school with oral Vietnamese in hand, but they now have an advantage in being taught the new language as a second language. Special materials have been prepared in a dozen or so Montagnard languages by the Service de Matériel d'Enseignement, through the research and co-operation of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The general method is to teach literacy in the vernacular and use it as a means of instruction for the first three years of primary school, with Vietnamese being gradually introduced as a second language.

An effort to require Vietnamese-medium instruction in Chinese private schools in 1957 could not be implemented,[1] apparently because of failures in teaching the language as a subject. At present there are no concrete plans to devise courses to meet the specific needs of Chinese schools, although some work has been accomplished along these lines for Khmer and Cham public schools. Aside from the fact that the Chinese schools are private, a certain amount of blindness to the real nature of the problem must arise from the policy of not recognizing the Chinese as an ethnic group of equal status with, say, the Montagnards.

From the fourth year of primary school upwards, courses in the Vietnamese language become less and less linguistically oriented. The objectives are to inculcate Vietnamese culture: history, literature, philosophy and the aesthetic applications of the language. In secondary school and the university, the linguistic content returns in connexion with concentration on Sino-Vietnamese studies, which involves familiarity with the Chinese sources of loan-words in the national language. Style in composition, a highly valued achievement, requires considerable control, and frequent use, of this vocabulary. One constant aim of Vietnamese courses at higher levels, for native and non-native speakers alike, is to teach good habits of expression in writing.

2. *The required world languages, French and English*

Since neither French nor English is to be used as a medium of instruction until the higher-education level, and since both are introduced relatively late in the educational process (choice of one at the beginning of the first cycle of secondary, both from the beginning of the second cycle), the aims of teaching these languages are quite clear and the philosophy of teaching similar. In both cases, besides the prospect of following courses and doing research at local institutions of higher learning, there is the additional motivation of possible scholarships to study abroad, mainly in France or the United States. In the case of French, however, such opportunities are much more easily available to graduates of the private French-medium *lycées,* and this tends to weight the choice of English as a primary foreign language far out of proportion to the actual situation with regard to preference. For the years 1958-64, the ratio has been about 60 : 40 in favour of French (although in 1958 and 1959 it was almost 50 : 50).

The time allotted to the study of foreign language in secondary schools is as follows. In the first cycle, the one language chosen (English or French) is studied for six hours a week in forms 7 and 6, and five hours a week in forms 5 and 4. In the second cycle, the time allotted to the primary language depends on the students' specialization, but can be up to six hours per course. For the obligatory second language, the same programme used for the first-cycle (chosen) language is taught, but compressed into three years instead of four, although the time allotted is only four hours per week.

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[1] Douglas P. Murray, 'Chinese Education in South-East Asia', *The China Quarterly,* October-December 1964, p. 84.

It is obvious, then, that without the reinforcement of other subjects taught in the foreign-language medium, the total period of concentration on both French and English in secondary schools is insufficient to meet the objectives for even one of these languages. But language teachers and their supervisors are doing their best to fulfil these impossible aims. In both departments there is some commitment to the oral-aural approach, the use of tape equipment, and a full realization of the problems involved in teaching non-native speakers a new language. But the materials are not suited to the approach, the teachers lack confidence in their own ability to speak, and the classes are much too large; in some sections there are as many as sixty students. In the case of English, an attack is being made on these problems through the Faculty of Pedagogy and a number of new teacher-training institutions, but the results will be slow in coming.

At the universities, French and English courses are principally of the literature and civilization variety, but there is a scattering of remedial courses for general students, and of linguistics-oriented offerings for prospective teachers.

3. *Chinese*

Mandarin is taught, both as a language and later as a medium of instruction, in the Chinese primary and secondary schools. Cantonese is apparently also used as a medium of instruction, especially in Cholon schools where the concentration of that particular language community is exceptionally heavy. Rules imposed by the government in 1963 limit 'Chinese-language teaching' to six hours per week, and call for a step-up in Vietnamese instruction. It is not known whether these rules have been strictly enforced. Severe restrictions on Chinese private schools date from about 1956, but have not had a great deal of practical effect on the conduct of the schools, which are much like similar institutions throughout South-East Asia (see Chapter III, Section C, end).

Notwithstanding all this, Mandarin (and indirectly other Chinese languages as well) forms an integral part of the higher-education curriculum. The University of Saigon Faculty of Letters, for example, offers courses in Chinese studies (in the Vietnamese medium but with some Chinese texts), including literature, philosophy and practical studies, in addition to the usual Sino-Vietnamese courses. The University of Hué, located in something of a Buddhist centre, has an Institute of Sinology.

4. *Other languages*

A few classical languages, such as Latin and classical Chinese, are taught, even in the upper-secondary schools, as background for students who choose classical specializations. The offering of modern languages other than English and French is extremely rare, and there seems to be little interest generated in languages of neighbouring countries, with the possible exception of Japanese and German. The outward vision of South Viet-Nam is clearly still only in two directions: toward China and toward Europe. The form of Buddhism practised in the country does not stimulate Indic studies; although the University of Saigon lists one course in Indian philosophy, there is no Sanskrit offered.

E. LANGUAGE-TEACHING RESOURCES

At first glance, South Viet-Nam seems ideally equipped for domestic- and foreign-language teaching, in all respects except perhaps the availability of English teachers. The country has no serious internal language problem. Such few problems as are involved in the teaching of the national language are being realistically met—e.g., the production of special texts for Montagnard primary schools—and the solutions can easily be extended to areas of deficiency, such as the Chinese schools. Since both of the foreign languages taught in South Viet-Nam are also widely taught all over the world as second languages, there is a wealth of available material. The supply of French speakers, educated in the French medium either in Viet-Nam or in France, seems inexhaustible; all are potential language teachers. Both United States and French assistance groups have supplied quantities of audio-visual equipment, including complete language laboratories, and are eager to supply more help in whatever direction it should be needed. Teacher training is a field in which they are both extremely active.

That part of language policy which is stable, moreover, is realistic. Deferring foreign-language study until the secondary level avoids the wastage of resources on primary-school drop-outs, and concentrates all efforts on the student who is probably going to continue on into higher education, either at home or abroad. It also theoretically enables the production of new school texts to be concentrated at the secondary level, where it is most needed, instead of at the university level.

What is actually happening, however, is a little different. If we consider only those resources which are currently being used, the picture which emerges is as follows.

1. *Staff: training and supervision*

The supply and use of teachers of Vietnamese-language subjects is adequate, except in the small area of teaching Vietnamese as a second language, where additional training is obviously required. Practical considerations bar much progress in this area outside of Saigon at present, but nothing is being done inside Saigon either.

French teachers actually employed in the public secondary schools are under-qualified with respect to language skill, and poorly supervised. It is not uncommon for them to fall back on Vietnamese for explanations, even though they understand that the oral-aural method expressly prohibits this. Potential teachers with a good command of French are mainly unemployable for one of three reasons: (a) if French nationals, they are already teaching some other subject, in the French-medium *lycées* or in the universities; (b) if Vietnamese citizens, they are either over-qualified for the job of secondary-school language teacher; or (c) they are in France.

English teachers actually employed in the teaching of English are scarce, and for the most part even less qualified in language skill than the French teachers. There is no immediate remedy for this. Training and supervision of English teachers is constantly being improved, but there are too many students for even the capable ones to handle properly. The ranks have been swelled somewhat recently by the addition of International Voluntary Service teachers, and a few personnel from such programmes as the Colombo Plan, the British Council and private foundations. Another source of potential teachers would be those already gainfully employed in private and foreign government-sponsored language schools, but even these teachers would not begin to close the gap.

2. *Texts and aids*

The foreign-language textbooks actually being used in the secondary schools, both first and second cycles, are:

French: *Français élémentaire,* Vols. 1 and 2; *Cours de Langue et Civilisation Française,* Vols. 1 to 4.

English: *Let's Learn English,* Parts 1 and 2; *Practise Your English,* Parts 1 and 2; *L'Anglais pour la Conversation*; *La Vie en Amérique.*

Among the textbooks not being used in the secondary schools are a course in French written by an inspector in the Ministry of Education with long experience in teaching French to Vietnamese speakers, and two publications of the South-East Asia Regional English Project (University of Michigan) entitled *English Grammar for Vietnamese* and *English Pattern Practice.* At present the ministry has no committee to review domestic and foreign commercial-language textbooks with a view to recommending suitable ones to the schools, as is done in almost all other countries. Teachers and supervisors have no choice outside the prescribed curriculum.

As far as Vietnamese is concerned, textbooks for instructing native speakers, foreigners, and minority ethnic groups except the Chinese exist in sufficient variety. Vietnamese grammar has long been the province of French and French-trained scholars, but in recent years Vietnamese linguists, as well as linguists from the United States, U.S.S.R. and many other countries, have written descriptions of the language. In the field of lexicography, Vietnamese is particularly rich, with scholars of French, Chinese and the subject language contributing dictionaries of all these types. English-Vietnamese dictionaries, however, are for the most part translations of French-Vietnamese counterparts, little original work having been done in this area.

Tapes are used in teaching foreign languages, but usually only to prospective teachers, or in schools which teach nothing but languages. In the latter category, L'Ecole des Langues Vivantes, the French Cultural Centre and the Vietnamese-American Association all have large laboratories. French teacher-training facilities are located at the Faculté de Pédagogie and the University of Dalat; American facilities at the College of Education on the new Saigon University campus at Tu Duc, at the University of Hué and in Cholon. Nearly all these facilities are inaccessible to secondary-school students of French and English, and the tapes are not co-ordinated with their texts. A few tape machines are used for instruction in Vietnamese, but only to foreign nationals.

3. *Testing*

Examinations after the first cycle of secondary school, in English and French, are written only. In Vietnamese, a composition and essay are also required. After the second cycle, the examinations are both written and oral. There is some talk of abolishing the oral examinations in language at the second baccalaureate level because of alleged corruption on the part of individual examiners. Results on language tests are given heavy weight by entrance boards and scholarship committees.

Informal oral examinations are also administered by some faculties and graduate departments. These are apparently the only proficiency tests (as opposed to achievement tests) given in the country, apart from those given by foreign governments. Aptitude testing is virtually unknown, and there has been little research done in the whole field of language testing by any university.

F. EFFECTS ON NON-LANGUAGE COURSES

Vacillation of language policy with respect to higher education, and ineffective implementation of the present policy for public secondary schools, have resulted in a whole complex of undesirable effects on non-language subjects at both levels. These can be summarized as follows:

1. Time taken away from general preparation of prospective university stu-

dents by secondary-school language courses which do not meet even minimum objectives.

2. Students taken away from local universities by the private secondary schools teaching in French, Chinese and English media.
3. Potential language teachers taken away from the public secondary system by private schools of all kinds, this in turn having an effect on the ability of students to pursue studies in higher education where a knowledge of foreign language is essential.
4. A splitting of the Vietnamese textbook-production effort between the secondary and university levels, stemming from a lack of policy direction indicating where the concentration of effort should occur.
5. Confusion, on the part of students destined for higher education within Viet-Nam, as to how best to prepare themselves linguistically for later non-language subjects.
6. An oversupply of university professors, at a time when secondary-school teachers in many subjects are badly needed, which traces indirectly back to language policies of the past.

To consider these effects in another light, however, let us also summarize the existing situation under the various headings of student enrolment, teaching staff, basic texts and library facilities.

1. *Student enrolment*

In 1963-64 there was a total of 20,926 students enrolled in the three universities of South Viet-Nam (over 80 per cent of whom were at the University of Saigon). This represents an increase of more than 20 per cent over the 1962-63 university student population (17,419). For the same two years the enrolment in French *lycées* increased by about the same percentage (4,184 to 4,420), but that of the public and non-French private second-cycle secondary schools increased by only 16.5 per cent (50,288 to 58,569). Considering that admission to non-French upper-secondary education is much easier for the average student, and that some of the output of the French *lycées* goes overseas, these figures are very significant indeed; they show that successful admission to the local universities is easier (at least in the opinion of prospective students, if not in fact) if one has the French second baccalaureate. In all probability, this reflects lack of confidence in secondary non-language subjects taught in Vietnamese, rather than purely linguistic considerations.

The preparation of students for the universities, based on many other kinds of evidence as well, is still not being satisfactorily accomplished in the Vietnamese medium. The performance of students in the universities, especially in medical, literary and some scientific subjects, still depends on their control of one or more foreign languages; it is equally clear that it is an extremely difficult task to acquire this kind of control in public and non-

French private secondary schools. It is small wonder, then, that despite present language policy, parents still send their children for French-medium education if they can possibly afford it.

2. *Teaching staff*

In the universities, teaching staff feels extremely insecure as the result of past shifts in language policy and uncertainty about the direction it will take in the future. The majority of university professors, both French and Vietnamese, teaching non-language subjects are convinced that it is essential to use foreign languages in higher education, if not as the actual medium of lectures, then at least for texts, periodicals, research and international communication purposes. In 1963-64 there were the following numbers of professors, in the official categories of 'Vietnamese' and 'French and others', giving instruction in the two public universities (breakdown not available for sixty-one professors at Dalat):

University	*Vietnamese*	*French and others*	*Total*
Saigon	356	81 (19 %)	437
Hué[1]	127	31 (19 %)	158
Total (public universities)	483	112 (19 %)	595

[1] Not including the Institut de Sinologie.

A similar breakdown is not given for the public and semi-private schools, but it is safe to assume that nearly all professors in these institutions are Vietnamese nationals. We have only to compare this and the university situation with that which pertains to French-medium primary and secondary schools for 1963-64:

School	*Vietnamese*	*French and others*	*Total*
Primary	26	142 (84 %)	168
Secondary	34	130 (79 %)	164
All French schools	60	272 (82 %)	332

Finally, let us compare the statistics on the numbers of professors (presumably mainly Vietnamese nationals) of French and English available for instruction in the public, semi-public and private schools for the same year:

School	*French*	*English*	*Total*
Public	396	309	705
Semi-public and private	818	642	1 460
	1 214	951	2 165

If the policy of South Viet-Nam is to teach French and English in the secondary schools for subsequent use in other subjects at the higher-education levels, the actual commitment of private teaching resources goes in just the opposite direction. The heaviest concentration of 'French and other' teachers is at the primary level, with the secondary level not far behind, but the universities are well to the rear. In fact, if the 272 'French and other' nationals of the private French schools were put to work teaching their own languages in the public secondary schools, they could replace over half of the 396 Vietnamese teaching French, and a small proportion of those teaching English as well. If the 112 'French and other' university professors were added, nearly all French requirements could be met by native speakers.

The explanation that foreign professors are needed to teach in the universities is unacceptable on other grounds, except in a few specialized fields. Besides the oversupply of Vietnamese professors actually in South Viet-Nam, there is said to be a residue of some 30,000 highly educated nationals still in France. Although a majority of these individuals might choose North Viet-Nam or France as their ultimate home, there are still considerable numbers who are potentially capable of teaching higher-education subjects either in French or Vietnamese in South Vietnamese universities, and could also teach nearly any subject (except perhaps English) in secondary schools.

If there is an oversupply of university staff, there is a corresponding undersupply of secondary-school staff teaching non-language (as well as language) subjects. These professors have had, in addition, to contend with frequent shifts in the leadership of the Ministry of Education; they are almost never consulted, and their morale is badly shaken. Their contribution to the preparation of students in general subjects for higher education has thus been less than satisfactory, through no fault of their own.

3. *Basic texts*

Apart from a few commercial publishers, the major impetus for production and translation of new Vietnamese textbooks comes from a section of the Ministry of Education called the Service de Matériel d'Enseignement which is in a sense the only official agency actually carrying out relevant language policy. It contracts out translation and new preparations of manuals in the national language; it also contracts out printing and acts as publisher. Its main effort is in the field of secondary education, but also does some publication of university texts. At the primary level its principal contributions are in the field of vernacular education and literacy, where it has issued manuals in co-operation with the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

In the 1964 catalogue of the service, there are nine titles in the field of higher education, of which three are terminology lists: chemistry, botany, and public works and communications. In previous years, terminology lists have been issued for physics and mathematics; one on zoology is at the press;

committees are presently working on geology, nuclear physics and engineering, meeting at their respective faculties with representatives of the service in attendance. The other six titles in the higher-education category are in the fields of law, Oriental philosophy and botany. There are thirty-five titles destined for secondary education, covering all fields but most heavily concentrated on language and literature and science. Forty-three additional titles are translations, mainly from French works but with a sizeable representation of Anglo-American and Chinese authors. Only eight titles are concerned with primary-school non-language subjects.

It should not be understood, however, that because there are still curriculum gaps at the secondary- and higher-education levels there is any poverty of Vietnamese literature in general. In fact, Vietnamese possesses one of the oldest and most complete literatures of any South-East Asian language (excluding Chinese). The apparent shortcomings are nearly all in relatively new, or rapidly changing, disciplines, as can be seen from the list of titles above. If the recent contributions of North Viet-Nam could be added to existing resources of this country, the picture with regard to basic textbooks actually used in schools and universities would be more nearly complete than it is at present for any other country of the region.

4. *Library facilities*

These are affected by the same political considerations that are involved in basic text needs, only more so. The majority of the higher educational institutions of old French Indo-China were located in Hanoi. While it has been possible, to some extent, to shift professors and students (and a university itself) to the South, the same does not apply to library collections. The University of Saigon as yet has no really central library, although there are fine collections in individual faculties and some excellent special collections elsewhere in the capital, e.g., at the National Museum. The other two universities are too new and small to extend much hope for the present.

As far as French and English sources are concerned, it is merely a matter of time and aid money until libraries can be built up. But for Vietnamese sources, the problem remains acute.

XII. Thailand

A. THE POLICY

1. *History—the official view*

Thailand, alone among the countries of South-East Asia, makes no formal statement of general language policy in any official document. This is of course partly due to the non-colonial history of the country; there having been no abrupt creation of a newly independent State but merely the continuous existence of a sovereign State, the question of national-language policy has never really arisen. The official language is, and always has been, Thai, with various other languages tolerated from time to time and occasionally given legal status of one kind or another, and there has been no event in recent years important enough to stimulate reconsideration of this position.

There have been seven separate versions of the Thai Constitution, beginning with the original one of 1932 and ending with the one adopted in 1959. None makes any mention of language policy except by implication;[1] the implication, however, is a strong one. The official version of each Constitution is in Thai; English and other versions are merely translations. This is a language policy in itself, and as such is similar to the policy of most of the great unilingual countries of the world. The question of language is taken for granted, and does not arise in constitutional law.

Individual laws affecting language matters, however, do exist. From the earliest days of European contact with what is now Thailand, official cognizance of languages other than Thai has been taken with regard to diplomacy, the courts, and internal administration. Languages such as Portuguese, Dutch,

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[1] The newest version, still in preparation, reportedly may contain such a clause in its final form, however.

French and English have been given *de facto* recognition. In more recent years, legislation directed against the use of foreign languages in semi-official activities has been more the pattern. For example, a series of acts affecting private schools, beginning in 1919 and culminating in the Private School Act of 1954, makes mandatory the teaching of Thai in certain categories of non-government schools, while setting a maximum number of hours for the teaching of languages other than Thai. While no linguistic or ethnic group was specifically mentioned, the important schools affected by the original legislation were Chinese- and English-medium institutions; in recent years, Chinese schools have been the principal target.

Thus the history of language policy in Thailand is one of single-language-mindedness in the utmost degree. Not only is Thai the national language, but other languages are so insignificant that they can be either ignored altogether or lumped together as 'alien languages'. At the present time, English is clearly the primary language of wider communication and also has a legal claim to official recognition in the areas of education, commerce and international affairs, but it was not so long ago that it shared this position with French. It might even be fair to say that the present situation is more a matter of convenience than of policy, and convenience is notoriously subject to change.

As far as education is concerned, nearly all instruction is through the Thai medium, including instruction in the universities. The only required languages, except for narrowly restricted specialties, are Thai and English; Thai from the first year of primary school, English from the fifth. Private schools still offer instruction in Chinese, English and other vernacular media. The only government schools which offer courses in media other than Thai are institutions which are not under the Ministry of Education—e.g., Border Police elementary schools—and the universities.

General policy on ethnic groups also parallels language policy. There has been a consistent tendency to avoid the use of ethnic terminology in all kinds of official proclamations. Thai citizens are Thais and nothing else; non-Thai citizens are aliens. A linguistic corollary of this general policy is the systematic discouragement of the use of the term 'Lao' by north-eastern Thai citizens in reference to themselves, with by now has apparently begun to bear fruit.

2. *The language situation—the outside view*

A second factor, other than the absence of any abrupt change in national status, which has certainly tended to inhibit the formulation of official language policy is the natural linguistic homogeneity of the country itself. The census of 1960 shows over 90 per cent of men and women in every age-group from 5 years upward replying affirmatively to the question 'Do you speak Thai?' (Children under 5 were not asked the question.) Characteristically, the census does not give other pertinent linguistic information, such as the number of first-language speakers of the various languages found within the kingdom.

It seems certain, however, that about 80 per cent of the population are native speakers of one of the dialects of Thai/Lao, the Bangkok standard variety of which, together with its written version, might properly be said to be the national language. The largest single ethnic minority, the Chinese, have been assimilated in the linguistic sense more fully, perhaps, than in any other country of the region. Most ethnic Chinese are by now either native speakers of Thai or have Thai under extremely good control as a second language. Other important non-Thai minority groups include Malays, Khmers, Vietnamese, Indians and many mountain-dwelling peoples of the type found all over northern South-East Asia. Like the Chinese, some of these groups are economically or politically significant, but linguistically they are lost in the Thai/Lao ocean.

Internal administration, education, the judicial and legislative processes are dominated by the Thai medium. The same is true of mass communications, except for films; nearly all radio broadcasting and live television is in Thai, and the numerous Thai newspapers now out-circulate both the English and Chinese press by a wide margin. In the cinemas, Chinese, English and Indian films are more common than Thai films, but this is clearly a matter of production capacity rather than customers' preference. Road signs and public notices are predominantly in Thai; some of the most important highway intersections in the kingdom are marked only in the national language. Commercial signs are apt to be in at least two languages, one of which is nearly always Thai. Business is often done in other languages, but the documentation is in Thai.

Leaving aside the question of the mutual intelligibility of the various Thai/Lao dialects spoken in the country (see sub-section 4 below), the outside view of Thailand's language situation, then, is substantially the same as the official view: it is a unilingual country.

3. *Special effects on education*

The use of Thai as a medium of instruction at all levels of education has had two principal effects, one of which might be said to be advantageous, and the other disadvantageous. The first is the availability of education of all types to large numbers of people at low cost; bright children from economically deprived families can and do graduate from the universities, subsidized in their post-secondary years by government scholarships or jobs. The second effect is the apparent impossibility of raising standards of education at a rapid pace without the introduction of non-Thai educational materials and media of instruction, at least from the secondary level upwards.

The government is well aware of this dilemma, and the Ministry of Education has continually sought means of resolving it. The current approach is based on the belief that university students, at least, will be able to make use of English-language resources (if not lectures in English, at least research facilities) if they are taught English as a subject well enough, and early enough in the educational system. There is also some commitment to the oral-aural approach as a means to acquire usable reading skill later. This is behind the introducing of the over-all plan for beginning compulsory English in the fifth year of primary school (now extended to seven years). Comparable solutions have not worked in the past; students who have had as many as ten years of instruction in English as a subject have still been unable to make effective use of English-language resources at the university level. It is almost invariably the students educated in the English medium (at various private schools) who are able to make a direct transition to higher-education fields where a knowledge of English is really essential, whether at local or foreign institutions.

Although the supply of educational materials in Thai is of higher quality and in greater quantity than comparable materials in other national languages of the region (with the possible exceptions of Indonesia, Viet-Nam and Burma), the problem of general preparation of students for the university still exists. That this is not entirely a question of language was pointed out independently by many different Thai educators, however. Students who have done well in the primary and secondary systems by virtue of their ability to memorize fixed texts and lecture notes cannot reasonably be expected to switch over to research-oriented study habits when they reach the universities. Unless they are actively encouraged to do so by their professors (and in many cases they are not), even a good command of English is a wasted resource.

Finally, there is the crucial question of the relative status of Thai and overseas degrees. The present situation can best be described in purely economic terms: foreign degrees are worth roughly twice what comparable local degrees are worth in terms of starting salary alone.[1] That language plays an important role in this disparity is the conviction of many educators. Dean Adun of the Faculty of Liberal Arts, Thammasat University, put it this way: 'We must raise our educational standards to stem the flow of students abroad. This in turn depends on stimulating research and independent thinking on the part of university students. And the present inability of our students to do research is directly connected with their lack of English.'

4. *The nature of the national language*

The national language of Thailand, both in terms of our assumptions and in the commonly accepted sense, is the modern standard dialect of Bangkok (and to some extent also of the entire Central Plains region of Thailand) and its written version. The latter, with only minor revisions, represents the direct tradition of a writing system of the Indic type said to have been introduced by King Ramkamhaeng toward the end of the thirteenth century, probably from a Khmer model. This writing system also provides the official representation of all Thai/Lao dialects spoken within the kingdom although other related scripts (such as Lao, Shan and northern Thai) are still in use unofficially.

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[1] A conclusion of several independent investigators in the field of Thai education—e.g., Nicholls (United States Operations Mission).

A recent linguistic survey of the varieties of Thai spoken within the kingdom[1] reveals that there are nearly as many distinguishable dialects as there are provinces in Thailand (about seventy, although the distribution is not by province). The traditional grouping of dialects into four main categories (central, northern, north-eastern and southern) can probably be expanded to six. The mutual intelligibility of the adjacent groups is generally good, but as in nearly all speech communities, the fringe-groups do not communicate readily. All dialects of Thai, however, including Bangkok sub-standard, are under constant pressure from the standard language; not only through the educational system but through the communications media as well.

The assumption of the Ministry of Education is now, and has been for some time, that special treatment for speakers of dialects other than standard Thai is merely a matter of standardization—i.e., that no real problem of communication exists, even for first-year primary-school children. Since teachers are assigned on a country-wide basis (not regionally), this assumption must undergo some serious trials in parts of the north, north-east and south, but is apparently viable. On the other hand the ministry is beginning to give systematic attention to the problems of non-Thai students for the first time (see Section C below), although it does not as yet conduct any vernacular-education projects.

B. THE INSTRUMENTS OF POLICY

In view of the comprehensive nature of the unstated policy that Thai is the language of the country, in a sense all government ministries and special committees are instruments of that policy. All official internal business is ultimately conducted in Thai, although negotiations, publicity and preliminary transactions in English and other languages are practised for the convenience of foreigners. The only official agency which might be said to specialize on language policy, in fact, is the Royal Institute in Bangkok, which acts somewhat as an academy to supervise the development of the national language.

Among the most influential ministries, from the point of view of carrying out current administrative policy, are the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Communications. The former exerts its influence directly through the codification of syllabuses and teacher-training procedures for the required courses in English, and to some extent also Thai. But its greatest impact on the question of language is an indirect one, since it also controls the content of non-language courses. The Ministry of Communications exerts its influence through the programming of radio and live television, which is nearly all in the standard Thai medium. The universities, although they are among the major recipients of language-policy effects, have little to say on administrative decisions affecting language matters.

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[1] G. Marvin Brown, *From Ancient Thai to Modern Dialects: A Theory.* Cornell doctoral dissertation, February 1962.

1. *The Royal Institute*

The Rajabandit Sathan, or Royal Institute, was established by royal edict in 1898, and is now attached to (but administratively not part of) the Ministry of Education. Its chief function is the general development and codification of written Thai, but through its dictionaries it also passes judgement on matters of pronunciation and usage in the spoken standard language. Funds for its projects come directly from the central government, but the ministry exercises control in approving the projects.

In the past, the institute was connected with the University of Fine Arts. It concentrated on dictionaries, grammars and literary manuals. Among its present projects are an abridged dictionary, an encyclopaedia and some miscellaneous translation work, some of it destined for the encyclopaedia. The director is Phya Anuman Rajdorn, a scholar of international repute. He is assisted by a permanent professional staff of only about fifteen persons, including graduates of Thammasat and Chulalongkorn universities and former Buddhist priests (mainly Sanskrit and Pali scholars). Recently two graduates of foreign universities have also joined the staff.

In the current dictionary project Phya Anuman is assisted by a mixed committee including members of his own staff and delegates from the Ministry of Education. The committee meets twice a month and its decisions are final. The abridged dictionary is published in draft almost as fast as the work is completed; so far eight fascicles have come out, representing about half the alphabet. In the encyclopaedia project, there is a standing committee, also meeting twice a month, which includes university professors. Various other kinds of specialists are called in for consultation on technical terms.

The Royal Institute is seen by its chief supporters as the only remaining bridge between the Ministry of Education (especially its more youthful and technically-minded element) and the older generation of Sanskrit and Pali scholars, many of whom are affiliated to the clergy and the nobility. The institute would like to undertake still other projects, for example in philological and comparative Thai fields, but has difficulty in securing funds even for the work it is already doing. The lack of concern on the part of the Ministry of Education about Thai dialects is perhaps a factor here.

2. *The Ministry of Education*

The Ministry of Education directly supervises all government schools except the designated universities and a few highly specialized schools (such as the Border Police schools). In addition, it prescribes the curriculum for private schools, and in this capacity can approve or disapprove texts in languages other than Thai (e.g., Chinese and English). Through these functions, and through standard examination procedures, it effectively controls the content of virtually all pre-university courses. Since only a small proportion of such courses are language courses *per se* (Thai, English and the Buddhist classical languages), the ministry exerts its greatest influence on language matters at the university level through the general preparation of students for that level. For example, the use of non-Thai resource materials is not emphasized or encouraged to any great extent by the ministry's syllabuses, and any change in study habits must therefore be initiated after the students have reached the universities.

Not directly connected with the Ministry of Education but closely tied to it through common membership is the teachers' union, or Khurusapha. The Khurusapha not only accounts for the printing, through its publishing arm, of the majority of approved texts, but for the authorship of a great many as well. The economic risks are not great for such publication activities, since the intimate connexion with the ministry virtually ensures both the necessary prior approval of a given text and a reasonably widespread sale after it is produced. (For further discussion of text publication, see Section F.3 below.) In this sense, the Khurusapha must also be counted as an unofficial instrument of language policy.

3. *The Ministry of Communications*

The Ministry of Communications directly controls or supervises radio, television and the post and telegraph system. In these capacities it implements langage policy in two separate ways. First, it restricts the use of languages other than Thai within the country. Second, it supports the non-recognition of dialects within Thai, and to some extent even functions as a teaching agency for the standard language.

Radio programmes, except for certain kinds of entertainment (both musical and dramatic) and specifically labelled foreign-language broadcasts, are entirely in standard Thai. The policy is held in the face of several kinds of evidence that millions of listeners in Thailand would prefer more programmes in foreign languages and other dialects of Thai/Lao. The availability of reasonably efficient radio sets even to lower income groups, and the relatively good reception conditions throughout the country make it possible for all kinds of stations to be heard, both government and non-government, both foreign and domestic. One survey in the north-east region[1] disclosed a virtually unanimous preference for programmes in the Vientiane dialect-group of Thai/Lao; such programmes were available both from Laotian radio stations and from private stations within Thailand. Yet the standard Thai policy continues, as far as government stations are concerned, and the radio undoubtedly ranks near the government primary schools among the most persistent and efficient disseminators of knowledge of the national language.

Television is comparatively new to Thailand, but in the Bangkok metropolitan area and other nearby centres it is beginning to reach well down into the economic strata for habitual viewers. The programming leans much more heavily on non-Thai sources than does radio programming, because films and video tapes with Thai sound-tracks are not as yet easily produced. News, advertising, announcements and live programmes of local origin are almost invariably in standard Thai, and in this respect there is little difference between television and radio policy. Both media, in addition, have been exploited for the teaching of English to mass audiences. Radio English courses are older and better established, but in the past year two Bangkok television channels were carrying two separate types of English-language instruction programmes.

Even the post and telegraph systems, in a small way, help to implement the unstated language policy. Telegrams may be sent in foreign languages, domestically as well as internationally, but if the sender uses a language other than Thai he must sign a statement to the effect that there has been no use of code. Postal cancellation marks are in Thai. Relatively few postal and telegraphic clerks handle any language except Thai well enough to do business in it, even in the metropolitan centres.

C. ETHNIC GROUPS AND MEDIA OF INSTRUCTION

Thailand's unilingual policy has a sound ethnic and linguistic base. As the population estimates by first language given below will show, about 80 per cent of the people in the kingdom speak one of the more or less mutually intelligible dialects of Thai/Lao as a mother tongue. As in many other countries of the region, important ethnic groups such as Chinese, Indian and European dominate sectors of the economy and culture. In addition, there are sizable numbers of non-Thai plains- and urban-dwellers in particular areas, such as Thai Moslems in the south (mainly Malay speakers), Khmer in the east and Vietnamese in the north-east. Finally, there are mountain tribes in the north, still living in relative isolation from Thai culture. Except for the European, Moslem, and mountain groups, all of these ethnic minorities have found some knowledge of Thai essential in their daily life and work.

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[1] Leonard I. Robock, *Radio Reception and Listening Habits in Six Provinces of Northeast Thailand*, Bangkok, United States Information Service, August 1964.

If we use a rounded-off population estimate of 30 million for the entire country, the numbers of speakers of various languages as first languages would be approximately as given below.[1] There are six different language families having at least 100,000 speakers within the kingdom: Thai, Chinese, Mon-Khmer, Malay, Indo-European and Tibeto-Burman, in that order of priority.[2]

1. The Thai group of languages (a possible sub-family of Sino-Tibetan) has at least 23.5 million and probably 24 million speakers. Virtually all are speakers of a single language, Thai/Lao, with only three other member languages of larger group being present in measurable permanent quantities. The breakdown by four main dialect groups and language is as follows:[3] central Thai (three dialects plus standard Thai itself), 11 million; southern Thai (fourteen dialects, close to central), 2 million; northern Thai (five dialects; also called Thai Yuan and Khammuang), 2 million; Lao (eighteen dialects; also called north-eastern Thai and Lao Isan), 8.5 million;[4] giving a total for all Thai/Lao dialects of 23.5 million. The other Thai languages —Shan, Phu-thai, Lao-Phuan—account for perhaps 500,000, giving the total speakers of Thai languages as 24 million.
2. Chinese languages (a sub-family of Sino-Tibetan) have about 3 million speakers, of which Tiechiu alone accounts for about half (1.5 million). Other languages of importance are Hakka, Hailam (Hainanese), Cantonese, Hokkien, Taiwanese and Mandarin, listed in approximate order of importance; only the first two have as many as a quarter-million speakers. Tiechiu also serves as a lingua franca, not only for the Chinese community but for some Thai and foreign businessmen as well. Mandarin is a common second language; its 'national-language' version, Gwoyu, is taught in the Chinese schools and gradually comes to serve as the actual medium of instruction.
3. The Mon-Khmer family of languages (if Vietnamese is included) claims at least a million speakers, and possibly as many as 1.3 million. Khmer

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[1] Figures on numbers of speakers are estimated mainly from the following sources: the HRAF handbook on Thailand, 1957; G. William Skinner, *Chinese Society in Thailand*, 1957, p. 212; D. Gordon Young, *The Hill Tribes of Northern Thailand*, United States Operations Mission, 1961; for Thai/Lao dialects, from G. Marvin Brown, *From Ancient Thai to Modern Dialects: A Theory*, Cornell doctoral thesis, February 1962. Other sources were used as checks, but official census figures on language ability were not found applicable. Some rough projection has been made to cover expected population increase from the date of the source to the present, in order to secure comparable figures in different categories.

[2] Figures do not include speakers of any lingua franca, such as Tiechiu, or of any language as a second language (e.g., English).

[3] Brown, op. cit., believes that the first four groups are also separate languages, and hence that there are seven Thai languages represented in the kingdom. The criterion of mutual intelligibility of contiguous groups has been used here, however.

[4] Brown's figure of 10 million obviously includes speakers in Laos.

itself and Vietnamese each account for about half a million; other languages represented in much smaller numbers are Soai (Kui), Mon and Khmu, in that order of importance.

4. Western Malayo-Polynesian (a sub-family) is represented almost entirely by speakers of Malay/Indonesian dialects living in the south of Thailand and numbering less than a million. A few hill people and aboriginal groups also belong to this linguistic classification.
5. Indo-European languages are represented chiefly by English and such Indic languages as Panjabi and Bengali. Although it is difficult to determine figures for first-language speakers, it is fairly clear that the total for this language family is not more than a half-million.
6. Tibeto-Burman languages (a possible sub-family of Sino-Tibetan) have well over 100,000 speakers in all, of which Karen accounts for about two-thirds. The other languages of the group are, in order of importance, Akha, Lisu, and Lahu, all with less than 30,000 speakers. Like Karen, these languages are all found in northern Thailand near the Burmese border. Burmese itself is a member of this group, but the number of first-language speakers in Thailand is insignificant.
7. The remaining languages with significant numbers of speakers are also northern hill languages, for which the linguistic affiliations are not clear: Meo, Yao, Htin and Lawa. The first two are probably Sino-Tibetan. Only Meo has as many as 50,000 speakers within Thailand.

Thus the Thai/Lao dialect group, to which the standard language of Thailand belongs, claims 80 per cent of the population as native speakers (about 24 of 30 million). Even if central Thai is considered a distinct language, it still enjoys a plurality, and all four major Thai speech-groups outrank the nearest competitor. Taking single languages with more than 1 million speakers the following ranking emerges: central Thai, 11 million (37 per cent); Lao, 8.5 million (28 per cent); southern Thai, 2 million; northern Thai, 2 million; Tiechiu, 1.5 million; Malay has less than 1 million speakers.

All instruction in government schools is in standard Thai except for highly specialized courses and programmes. The exceptions are language courses at all levels, courses in the English medium at a few institutions of higher education, and experimental vernacular education at scattered primary schools.

English-medium offerings include the following: some science courses at all universities having science faculties (Chulalongkorn, Thammasat, Chiengmai) or general scientific specialization (Kasetsart, Medical); economics and business courses at a few institutions; scattered offerings in the social sciences, public administration and engineering fields. The SEATO Graduate School of Engineering uses the English medium entirely, but it is not a government institution. English-reading assignments are made in many courses at all higher-education facilities, even when the medium of instruction is Thai.

Under the general heading of experimental vernacular schools could be grouped the following miscellaneous types of activity: The Border Police schools; a Lawa tribal school in the Hawd District of northern Thailand, where the first year of primary education is said to be given in the northern dialect, the switch being made to standard Thai in the second year; and an experimental programme in teaching Thai to pre-primary-school Malay-speaking children in several different localities in southern Thailand. Other vernacular schools are said to exist, and programmes similar to the southern experiment are under consideration by the ministry for Vietnamese and possibly Khmer children.

In private schools, the medium of instruction is either determined by the ethnic background of the students or it is English. In the former category Chinese- and Thai-medium schools predominate, but in areas of heavy ethnic concentrations other kinds of vernacular schools exist, and there are a few other European-language schools. English-medium private schools, many run by religious organizations, are found not only in Bangkok but in or near almost every other urban centre as well. The curriculum in all such schools is prescribed by the Ministry of Education, and in accordance with the Private School and Primary Education Acts always includes Thai-language instruction. The amount of instruction in non-Thai languages is also limited by law.

The ministry's Department of Educational Techniques, which approves texts for governmental schools, also performs this function for private-school texts. When the texts are not in Thai or English, the problems of evaluation are critical. That the ministry does not take this responsibility lightly is evidenced by the fact that education specialists in Chinese, Malay, French and other fields have been recently called in to assist in setting up evaluation procedures. In the case of Chinese school texts, the ministry is actually helping to devise some of the curriculum.

D. LANGUAGE COURSES AND THEIR OBJECTIVES

1. *The national language, standard Thai*

Courses in Thai are compulsory throughout the educational system, in both public and private schools, from the first year of primary school through the teacher-training colleges. In at least one case (Thammasat University), Thai is also a required subject during the first year of a higher-education programme, regardless of specialization, since all students are assigned to the Faculty of Liberal Arts for the first year. In various faculties of the three general universities and the College of Education, there is also a Thai requirement, usually lasting two years.

Because of the linguistic make-up of the country, Thai is widely taught to native speakers for standardization purposes; in the majority of cases, at least through the primary level, and in some respects through the secondary level as well. Even native speakers of Central Thai (the group of dialects closest to the standard language) have to have faults corrected. The general policy of not recognizing the existence of dialects makes it difficult to distinguish the different needs of various geographical areas, and the assignment of teachers on a country-wide basis does nothing to further a solution to the problem. There appear to be some stirrings in the Ministry of Education toward consideration of this problem, however.

Since both oral and written Thai are media of instruction in all government schools, they have to be taught simultaneously for this purpose. The Thai writing system is introduced from the first year of primary school in a thorough and systematic way, through a series of primers and readers. Where oral Thai has to be taught to non-native speakers, as is often the case in the areas of non-Thai ethnic concentration, there are the usual problems in establishing the medium of instruction. Experimental programmes in Malay-, Vietnamese- and Khmer-speaking areas may result in some permanent solutions to these problems.

While the standardization process and the teaching of the writing system extend far up the educational ladder, they by no means exclude other types of instruction. Oral composition is encouraged in Prathom I; written composition from Prathom II or III. Outside reading and the use of dictionaries are encouraged from Prathom IV on. Beginning with upper primary, what might be legitimately called literature begins to be introduced (although both prose and poetry are read from the third year), and becomes an increasingly larger component of the Thai-language course. Real emphasis on traditional grammatical categories, stylistics and rhetoric does not occur until the secondary level, and culminates in what is properly a linguistic analysis of certain approved prose and poetry styles. This last type of instruction is heavily stressed in the teacher-training colleges (and consequently in the College of Education, which trains teachers for these institutions and in the Faculty of Education of Chulalongkorn University).

Thai-language offerings, in fact, do not vary a great deal among the institutions of higher learning. The four universities which offer Thai studies add such elements as comparative literature, philology and an introduction to the three ancient languages which are the main source of loan-words in Thai (Sanskrit, Pali and Khmer). The College of Education also incorporates these elements in the Thai curriculum. There is no elementary instruction in Thai at the university level, even of a remedial kind, except for occasional special courses set up for foreign students. It is quite clear that, whatever the dialect background may be, students who reach higher education have no real difficulty in expressing themselves in spoken and written standard Thai.

2. *The intended language of research, English*

With the extension of the primary-school system to seven years, compulsory English courses begin at Prathom V and continue from there onwards in the

Ministry of Education's schools. All the institutions of higher education now have some English requirement, which is handled in different ways. The principal aim of most English courses, from primary upward, is to prepare the student to be able to use written English as a resource in his other studies. Concomitant aims are to understand lectures given in English, to be able to write English, and to use English for general communication purposes, but the ability to read English texts and understand them is always put first.

There is sufficient acceptance of the principle that instruction in the spoken language must precede instruction in the written language, however, so that nearly all courses in English contain elements of the oral-aural approach. Commitment to this approach in primary education is fairly new, but the first results have not been entirely encouraging. Not only have the students been doing more poorly than before in reading (which was to be expected), but there is some evidence that they are not learning spoken English as well as they did under the old system, which emphasized complete mastery of a small corpus of written material, with speaking and comprehension as incidental acquisitions. Proponents of the oral-aural approach answer this by pointing to the method of examination, which perhaps does not reveal the acquisition of real skills that may show up to good advantage later on in the educational system.

Private schools begin teaching English as early as the first and second years of primary school. Since for nearly all children, in both public and private schools, English is a new language that has to be learned from scratch, this amount of lead time becomes a real problem when private-school students transfer to public schools, especially when they come from the better private schools. Incidents have been reported where it was evident that some of the students had a better command of English than the teacher, as the result of such transfers.

Much instruction, in fact, above the primary level is apt to be remedial, and this extends all the way into the teacher-training colleges. Each successive level of English teachers finds that the work of the preceding level has not been done satisfactorily and must go back over the same material. For those students who go abroad to study, unless they are graduates of the better-quality English-medium private schools, it is nearly always necessary to provide some kind of intensive language study, either in Thailand or overseas, prior to entrance in the foreign school. Such instruction can be either remedial or, in some cases, quite basic in character.

In the universities, English courses are of three different kinds. First, there are the required basic courses, often remedial, which are usually given by the Faculty of Arts (at Thammasat and Chiengmai, required for all entering students, regardless of faculty; at Chulalongkorn, required if requested by the supervising faculty). Second, there are specialized courses given by various faculties for their own students, and adapted to fit English needs peculiar to their own field of specialization; at Chulalongkorn and the professional universities, such courses may be given in place of the generalized basic English course. Third, there are terminology courses (notably at Chiengmai and the professional universities), taught not by English professors, but by professors in the particular discipline whose knowledge of English is extremely good; in some cases the professors are native speakers of English.

Officials of the Ministry of Education and of the Government in general are far from satisfied with the level of English attained by public-school pupils, and the subject is open to debate and experimentation on a fairly large scale. While the best results are obtained by early introduction of English and a general increase in the number of hours of instruction throughout the curriculum, the objection is always raised that this approach does not serve the interests of the entire school population, but only that fraction of it which reaches upper-secondary or university levels. For the millions who drop out of school after no more than four years, it is argued, the small amount of English which might be acquired in this time will have little economic or educational value as compared with other subjects which could have been studied instead.

This thinking underlies the present policy of beginning English courses in Prathom V. There is also a current experiment in both primary and secondary schools, involving a dual-stream English offering: three hours a week for certain categories of students, but five hours for others. It is clear, in any case, that no aspect of the question of how to teach English in the public schools has as yet been settled permanently. To assert that it will definitely be taught in the schools from now on, indeed, is to take a rather short-term view of Thai educational-language policy. There is nothing in the Constitution or in existing law which would prevent its being removed from the curriculum entirely and placed in a separate category, or even abandoned.

3. *Other languages*

Modern languages other than Thai and English are not taught in public primary and secondary schools, but only in private schools and the universities. Classical languages such as Pali, Sanskrit and (Ancient) Khmer are offered as part of the Thai-language programme (see above); except in the schools operated by the Buddhist clergy, however, they are not actually taught as spoken languages at any level. Modern foreign languages currently being offered at one or more universities include French, German, Chinese, Japanese and Italian; French is the most commonly chosen European language and Japanese the most common Asian. Other languages have been offered in the past and probably will be offered again in the future, depending on student demand and staff availability. The purpose for such courses is usually research, or preparation for further study abroad.

Of the languages of the immediate region, so far the only offerings have been highly specialized ones for specific training needs: for example, a course in Malay taught as part of in-service training for southern provincial officials. At Chulalongkorn and Thammasat universities, however, there is some consideration being given to offering regular courses in such languages as Burmese, Vietnamese, and possibly Indonesian as soon as staff problems can be worked out. Actual communication skills will probably be emphasized.

Mandarin, of course, is extensively taught in the private Chinese-medium primary schools, but under severe governmental restrictions. Beginning with the original Private School Act of 1919, the Chinese schools have been under ever-increasing pressure to conform to Thai standards. The latest law (1962) stipulates that of a thirty-hour weekly curriculum, only ten hours may be in the Chinese medium (for subsidized schools, only six hours). Since the entire curriculum is presumably the same as that of the public schools in content, Thai instruction is automatically included in the programme. Chinese schools, moreover, are restricted to four years. Formerly, this meant merely that Chinese children had to go out of the country to continue their education beyond the fourth grade in the Chinese medium, but now it means more than that. With the period of compulsory schooling extended to seven years, there is no longer any way to escape attending at least three years in Thai-medium schools.

Wherever Mandarin (Gwoyu) is taught in Thailand, the methods are similar to those used in other countries of South-East Asia (see fuller account in Section C of Chapter III). The feeling about Chinese languages in Thailand is such, however, that it is relatively uncommon to find Chinese offered as a course even in the universities, where there are no legal obstacles to its being offered.

E. LANGUAGE-TEACHING RESOURCES

Because of the linguistic homogeneity of Thailand's school population, the reinforcement of the one-language policy from all sides, and the relatively plentiful supply of trained teachers at all levels, the teaching of standard Thai is not really much of a problem. Such deficiencies as do exist are largely a matter of specialized materials and techniques: e.g., for reconciling the dialects with the national language and for teaching Thai as a second language to relatively small categories of non-Thai students.

The situation with regard to English teaching is almost the reverse. Given the educational policy of relying on English for some aspects of upper-level instruction, in the context of a crying need for better general education for more students at the lower level, the teaching of English becomes one of the major problems of education in Thailand. Even if an ideal answer could be found to the question of when and how and to whom English should be taught, there would still remain the problem of selecting, training and supervising the teachers to do the job. While there is no real deficiency of materials (perhaps, indeed, there is too wide a choice), there is certainly work to be done in research, and in all the fields of testing: aptitude, achievement and proficiency, and correlating the tests with a firm operational policy that does not change from year to year.

In view of the vastly more complex nature of the problem, the subheadings which follow are concentrated on resources for teaching English. Thai resources are mentioned only when particularly relevant.

1. *Staff: training and supervision*

Teachers of English in the critical area of the public upper-primary and secondary schools are nearly all Thai nationals, and most are not native speakers of the language. In the private English-medium schools the proportion of native-speaking teachers is larger, especially so in the church-supported schools. In the universities, the ranks are swelled by such programmes as Colombo Plan, Fulbright, British Council, United States Operations Mission and private foundation projects, and since the total number of university teachers is small, the proportion in a given year may actually reach a majority of native speakers. But until the relatively recent arrival of United States Peace Corps volunteers in substantial numbers, it was rare to find a native speaker in secondary education or in the teacher-training institutions. (There are, of course, still other Americans, British, Canadians, New Zealanders and Australians teaching subjects other than the English language itself.)

The irony of this situation is that, according to at least one school of linguistic thought, the value of native speakers is greatest at the beginning of language training, and not in its advanced stages. A sort of compromise is reached, in Thailand as in other countries, by utilizing native-speaker resources in training teachers of the language, or teachers of such teachers, and thus giving the benefit indirectly to the elementary student. It is the opinion of many educators in the field of language training in Thailand that the teacher gap is now, in fact, most serious in the secondary schools; but this goes much deeper than mere control of subject matter, and cannot be solved merely by increasing the numbers of native speakers. Some educators even believe that the well-trained Thai national for whom English is a second language can do a better job of teaching Thai students at all levels.

Despite the different backgrounds of the many kinds of teachers who have been involved in the teaching of English in Thailand (American and British first-language varieties, Thai and other second-language varieties) there does not seem to be any indication of a peculiarly 'Thai' variety of English, such as has emerged in some countries where English is a second language. (The characteristics of the phenomenon are complete control of, and fluency in, a variety of English which is slightly different from any of the recognized standards but common to large numbers of speakers in the second-language country.) The problem in Thailand is, rather, incomplete control of structure, especially pronunciation, and lack of fluency in any single variety of English. This applies especially to students graduated from the public school system, but also to some of their teachers.

These circumstances affect the programmes of the highest-level teacher-training facilities in the country: the College of Education at its three locations (Prasarn Mitr, Patoom Wan and Bang Saen) and the Faculty of Education of Chulalongkorn University. Both of these institutions are equipped to do high-quality general education work and have model schools available to them for practice teaching work. In English specialization, both have tried to emphasize linguistics (especially phonetics) and the oral-aural approach to language teaching; they have tape and other technical facilities for research. But both are, at the same time, very much involved in teaching their students how to speak, understand, read, and write English, instead of being able to concentrate on methods.

Supervision of English teachers, once they are in the field, operates under the same system as is very effective for other subjects, but there is some feeling here that teachers graduate too quickly to supervisory (and indeed teacher-training) positions, because of the lack of experienced qualified personnel. If this is so, then the same weakness in control of English is probably a factor. In any case, there seems to be a noticeable clustering at the top of the very people who are the most competent to do English teaching where it is most badly needed, whether it be in the primary or secondary schools. Beneficial effects may eventually trickle down from this superstructure, but all that is observable so far is a continual upgrading of an educational hierarchy which does not seem to touch the ground at any point.

2. *Texts and aids*

Besides the usual battery of English manuals and readers available all over the world, a number of new materials especially prepared for Thailand are currently in use in the schools, universities and teacher-training institutions. The new materials come primarily from three sources: American, British and Thai linguists (or language-teaching specialists). While it would be impossible to present a complete list, here are some representative samples: *English for Thai Students*, South-East Asia Regional English Project, 4 volumes, edited by E. Anthony; *Oxford English Course for Thailand*, by H. Coulthard Burrow; *English Sound Drills* and *Grammatical Structure Drills*, by Chalao Chaiyaratana (Thammasat University).

Texts for teaching the writing system of Thai to native speakers are among the best in the field of spelling and orthography manuals anywhere. Texts for teaching foreign adults spoken and written Thai exist in some variety, but similar materials for teaching non-Thai children and illiterate adults are only beginning to appear. Recent dictionaries, both Thai-Thai, and Thai-English, make this language one of the best documented in South-East Asia as far as lexicography is concerned. Grammars used in the schools and universities are traditionally oriented and not altogether complete in their coverage of structure.

Tape equipment is more readily available in the educational system of Thailand than in any other country of the region, penetrating well into the secondary schools and even into some elementary schools. It is used almost entirely for the teaching of English, although it is made available to other language departments, and for linguistics and speech courses, etc. Technicians who are able to maintain the machines are notably lacking, however, except in the larger urban centres (and even here the service is expensive). Several of the universities and the College of Education at Prasarn Mitr have fully equipped laboratories.

Simple visual aids, also used mainly in the teaching of English, are provided by the ministry and various assistance programmes. Since much English teaching is done in rural areas where complex equipment is out of the question, these have proven to be the most generally useful kind of aids. In language teaching, as in general education, there is a relatively recent trend toward encouraging rural teachers to construct their own aids out of readily accessible local materials, but this system has not had time to affect language instruction in Thailand.

Texts and aids for teaching modern languages other than Thai and English are almost entirely imported from abroad.

3. *Testing*

Present language examinations in the public schools, both written and oral, can be described generally as achievement tests. Their purpose is to determine whether or not the student has mastered a prescribed corpus of material and is ready to move on to the next level. This system gives the Ministry of Education a firm statistical basis on which to plan operational policy, to conduct experiments with various techniques, and to plot general progress (or lack of progress) in the teaching of a given language. But this type of examination is deceptive in that it provides no measure of the extent to which the original need for language training is being met by the schools. In the important case of English, the primary objective is to enable students to read and understand the language, but achievement in reading skill is measured only in relation to achievement of other students who have followed the same programmes.

The kind of testing most relevant to higher-education problems is proficiency testing, wherein the candidate is measured against an abstract (and sometimes admittedly subjective) standard of excellence, independently derived by experience with the actual use of language in various communication situations. Proficiency testing is actually practised by virtually all the faculties of the various universities, in the form of oral interviews given to candidates for admission to the faculty. Since this interview occurs only after the candidate has successfully passed a standard written entrance examination, however, and since there are few known cases of the rejection of a candidate solely on the basis of the oral interview, the function of the test is really placement rather than admittance. In such universities as Thammasat, where the Faculty of Liberal Arts does all the testing in the first year, this type of test serves a useful purpose in the assignment of students to different sections of the basic English course. At Chulalongkorn, the written entrance examination is of primary importance, and the universally admitted superiority of students' English at Chulalongkorn is probably attributable to the weight assigned to English achievement (not proficiency) upon entrance.

In a sense, oral tests of any kind tend to become proficiency tests, depending on the experience of the examiner. In at least one case (the College of Education) oral tests were dropped from the programme reportedly because the results 'did not correlate well with the written examinations'. This situation, while not yet typical, is at least an indication of the need to re-examine the whole concept of language testing in Thailand. The main questions which need to be answered are two: first, do good scores on existing reading tests really indicate an ability to read what must be read in higher education? Second, does skill in oral English really accelerate the process of acquiring the necessary useful (i.e., not achievement-tested, but proficiency-tested) reading skill? While the Ministry of Education and the independent universities certainly do not see eye-to-eye on these questions, there is a great deal of healthy discussion going on. In the absence of a central authority which can decide such matters, it promises to go on a lot longer.

F. EFFECTS ON NON-LANGUAGE COURSES

The principal effects of Thailand's unilingual policy, both general and educational, are felt in the university non-language subjects: the sciences, the humanities, the social sciences and certain of the arts. While it is feasible to close the textbook gap in these subjects at the primary and secondary levels (although this has not yet been completely accomplished), the hope that a nation of the size of Thailand can match the success of other unilingual nations in giving higher education in the national-language medium —the oft-cited Asian example being Japan—is a forlorn one indeed, at least at present. The alternative prospect, represented in the objective of teaching pre-university students enough English so that they can at least read materials in a language of wider currency, is a brighter one, although at the moment it is apparently equally far from attainment. Until some new method of English teaching is found and given a fair trial at the lower levels, in short, university education in Thailand will go on being what it has been in the past: a sop for those neither talented nor well-connected enough to qualify for higher education overseas.

The impact of the unilingual policy can be most clearly seen in the character of the present university enrolment, in the overqualification of professors in some fields and then underqualification in others, and in the all-important area of non-language textbooks and library facilities.

1. *Student enrolment*

In the academic year 1964-65, there were nearly one-fifth as many Thai university students abroad as there were students in the national universities. Since the cost of higher education abroad is about five times that of the domestic variety, this means that nearly as much money is being spent (by the country as a whole, not merely the government) on overseas education as on local higher education. Another economic pointer is the much higher starting salaries of foreign-university graduates as compared with Thai university graduates. While university enrolment in Thailand has been increasing at a rate of about 7 per cent per year, overseas enrolment has been increasing at about the same rate in recent years. Most significantly, a larger and larger proportion of the foreign enrolment has been going, not to the traditionally desirable locations such as Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States, but to English-medium universities in the Asian countries, especially the Philippines, India and Pakistan.

2. *Teaching staff*

The teaching staff in Thai universities are a peculiar mixture of expatriates with high qualifications and others with almost none at all, of Thai graduates of foreign universities and of local universities, and of individuals who have risen to the higher-education level solely by virtue of a general process of upgrading. In virtually all non-language disciplines except law and certain of the arts, Thai-speaking professors with the proper academic qualifications to fill certain essential positions are still hard to find. This usually means the importation of an expatriate professor, either on a temporary or a more or less permanent basis, to teach the subject. The expatriate professor has basically three options: (a) to teach in English; (b) to try to learn Thai well enough to teach in that medium; (c) to teach through an intermediary, who is usually a bilingual graduate student. All three options have been tried (the second least frequently), with generally unsatisfactory results, except in isolated cases of the first option at Chulalongkorn University and the Medical University. The third option is being given a new lease of life at the new Chiengmai University, especially in science courses, where it is backed up by special English-terminology classes.

As far as Thai-speaking professors are concerned, it is in those very fields where teachers are most badly needed that the most lucrative non-educational jobs, both in Thailand and abroad, beckon the recent graduate of the foreign university. This condition, however, may eventually cure itself: as more and more students are drawn into the economically profitable disciplines, some are certain to end up as teachers. The problem of staffing Thai universities, in short, is not nearly of the same order of difficulty as it is in those countries which have only recently begun to switch over to the national-language medium in higher education. The general supply of university professors is good and will get better; it is only in specific areas, such as science and language teaching, where the feed-in of Thai foreign graduates will not close the gap in a reasonable time.

3. *Basic texts*

Basic texts in Thai for higher-education purposes are still nearly non-existent. The principal reason for this is the former (and to some extent current) practice of university professors teaching in the Thai medium to work from a set of notes, gradually developed over years of teaching their specialties to generations of students, but never published. Such notes are often duplicated, rather imperfectly, by individual students or groups of students who attend the lectures and record the oral substance as best they can, and these students' sets of notes are sometimes offered for sale after the owner has passed the examination in question, or lent to other students for copying. Non-publication by professors thus has become an economic matter, and under the former system at Thammasat University where lecture attendance was optional, it was the only way for the professor to ensure himself of an audience. As soon as he published his notes, he became obsolete.

Recently, in an intelligent attempt to remedy the deficiency of university texts in at least one area, an organization called the Social Science Press was brought into being with private foundation support. This organization, loosely affiliated to Chulalongkorn University, accepts manuscripts from its members and publishes those deemed suitable for a specific need. The main sources of manuscripts are older scholars (who no longer regularly lecture to students but have collections of notes dating from times when they did) and younger teachers, mainly in their thirties, who either translate English texts or do original work in their spare time; there is said to be virtually no output from the middle-aged group of professors. The Social Science Press has only a small printing plant of its own, and usually contracts out the actual printing. The average price of its publications is about 20 baht (U.S.$1).

English textbooks are of course widely used in the universities, almost exclusively in some scientific, technical and medical fields. Unless simplified, however, such texts are practically unusable for the average Thai university student. Where they are the only text available, a great deal of the professor's time is taken up with interpreting the meaning of the English to his students. Outside reading assignments in English are nearly out of the question.

Since performance of the student in university non-language subjects also depends on his general preparation in the primary and secondary schools, it is advisable to describe the textbook situation at these levels as well. The situation here is quite different from that pertaining in higher education, because in all but a few areas there is now at least one approved Thai text available, and sometimes a wide choice of texts. All curricula for schools under the Ministry of Education are set by its Department of Educational Techniques (DET), which in some disciplines also creates the textbooks. Hand-in-hand with the DET, and sometimes indistinguishable from it, is the Khurusapha Press.[1] Originally dealing only in Thai language and literature items, the Khurusapha has now effectively taken over about 75 per cent of all publication of textbooks in the Thai language, on all subjects. Its nearest competitor is a commercial firm, the Thai Wattana Phanich, which accounts for about 10 per cent of DET-approved titles.

There are two main reasons for the commercial success of the Khurusapha: first, it is a tax-exempt organization; second, it runs no financial risks in issuing textbooks. Since the prior approval of the DET is necessary to make sales of a new textbook possible, the commercial firms must at least pay authors' fees and proof costs in order to submit a manuscript for approval. The teachers' union, whose own members are its authors, also has members in the DET, and does not face these hazards; good sales, moreover, are assured for any approved publication through recommendation by still other members in the schools. One of the healthy aspects of the system, however, is that it encourages textbook-writing by teachers; the older textbooks were often written by government officials and specialists with no direct experience of teaching.

The Khurusapha system, while it seems to be working effectively in the primary- and secondary-school textbook area, obviously would not apply to the university's problems. In the first place, the Ministry of Education does not approve university textbooks; the individual professor or department head does. In the second place, university courses run on a single-text basis are apt to be merely extensions of secondary schooling and normally do not contribute toward the raising of higher-education standards. Perhaps a partial answer to the problem can be found in the creation of more organizations such as the Social Science Press, but here outside capital would be needed because of the extremely limited market of university-level textbooks in Thai.

Another important deterrent to the production of texts which are usable in the university setting is the fact that wherever a scholar exists who is capable of translating or creating an essential text in a specialized field, the country is likely to need his services in other capacities: teaching, government service or administration. Here again the parallel with larger unilingual nations breaks down, because where Thailand has one such specialist, a country like Japan will have dozens, some of whom can teach, others serve the government and private industry, others write textbooks, and still others do pure research. At present Thailand is far from having the trained manpower resources to permit such a division of functions, and the size of its population works against the development of minute specialization in two ways; the inherent restriction of input possibilities, and the economically limited consumption of output (smaller market for textbooks, smaller classes in specialized disciplines, etc.) This does not mean, however, that the university textbook problem is insoluble, only that it will require proportionately more time for solution.

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[1] Much of the information on this subject derives from a memorandum prepared by Carroll G. Bowen for USIS, Bangkok, March 1962.

4. *Library facilities*

On the other hand, library facilities are a problem of which the solution does not depend on time but on success in teaching pre-university students to read English quickly and with understanding, and to want to do so. The stock of the existing university libraries ranges from two-thirds to four-fifths English titles, and the periodicals are even more predominantly English. Yet it is still possible to walk through whole reading-rooms of university libraries completely filled with students (at Thammasat, for example) without seeing a single English publication open on any table. For the student, except the Chulalongkorn student, the library is a place to read Thai books, or a quiet spot to study old lecture notes (also in Thai). Books and periodicals in English, except the picture magazines, are largely for use by the teachers. Many Thai educators have pointed out, however, that lack of English reading skill is not the only factor here. Thai students are neither encouraged to read at home, where books are not a natural part of the environment and parents are likely not to be habitual readers in any language, nor in primary and secondary schools, where the pedagogical system tends to inhibit independent reading.

There is apparently no illusion on the part of higher-education authorities that library facilities can be duplicated in Thai in the same way as basic texts may eventually be. Libraries have been built up, and continue to be built up, on the assumption that some day there will be students capable of making full use of English resources in many fields. This is already beginning to be true at Chulalongkorn University, which has an adequate library for most purposes. Other fine functional libraries are located at the College of Education (Prasarn Mitr) and the Medical University. Of the Thai collections, Silpakorn University has access to the best ones in the National Museum and the National Library, located nearby (although a 1961 fire destroyed many valuable manuscripts). The other universities are building for the future, on the same assumption as Chulalongkorn; the newest one, Chiengmai, is just beginning its library.

Thus the teaching of English in the lower schools has a direct bearing on the quality of higher education in Thailand. Even if the time comes when all oral instruction and all basic textbooks are in Thai, this will still be so because of library considerations.